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**AN EXPLORATION OF THE IMPACT OF EMOTIONAL LABOUR ON
SECONDARY SCHOOL TEACHERS IN THE UK**

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of Arts (Clinical Counselling) in part fulfilment of the Modular Programme in
Clinical Counselling

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ABSTRACT

This study is an exploration of the impact of emotional labour on secondary school teachers in the UK. It is a small-scale qualitative study using data from five secondary school teachers currently working in various counties in the north-west of England. The data from these participants was collected using semi-structured interviews. The data was subsequently analysed using Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis, the findings of which show that although teaching is an emotionally demanding job, experiences of the emotional labour involved in it can be positive as well as negative. The emerging themes include the impact of emotional labour both inside and outside the classroom and the demands this makes on teachers. The findings support other research work in this area.

DECLARATION

This work is original and has not been submitted previously in support of any qualification or course.

Signed:

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Dedication

For Mum and Dad, for their enduring love and support.

And for Vince – there is a light that never goes out.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

This study focuses on secondary school teachers' experiences of the way in which they are impacted by the emotional labour involved in their profession.

Background

It is widely accepted that teaching involves a great deal of emotion (Nias, 1996, Hargreaves, 1998, Demetriou et al., 2009, Titsworth et al., 2010) and is an emotionally demanding job (Bakker and Demerouti, 2007). The emotional demands placed on teachers can lead to burn-out (Chan and Hui, 1995, Hakanen et al., 2006), stress (Kyriacou, 1987, Klassen, 2010) and emotional exhaustion (van Dick and Wagner, 2001, Grayson and Alvarez, 2008). Despite recommendations to reduce teachers' workload in order to alleviate stress (PriceWaterhouse Coopers, 2001), the number of teachers reporting stress-related illnesses has continued to rise (National Union of Teachers, 2013). Whilst looking at research relevant to this study I found that much of it was quantitative in nature and focused on the manifestations of stress and burn-out, with very little on the day-to-day experiencing of the emotional demands on teachers (Kinman et al., 2011).

Rationale

My interest in the emotional labour of teaching arises from my own experiences as a secondary school teacher and my decision to leave the profession. As a middle manager in several schools I was also faced with the task of managing stress-related absenteeism and the return to work of colleagues suffering with stress. Although as a teacher I was aware that teaching adolescents meant witnessing, and to some

degree, managing the emotions associated with their developmental stage (Erikson, 1968, Jacobs, 1986, Sugarman, 2001), I was unaware that the emotional demands for the teacher could have such significant consequences as exhaustion and burn-out. Therefore, my initial engagement with the literature for the purposes of this study had a considerable impact. Although aware through my daily experiencing of the 'performing' nature of teaching in the classroom as highlighted by McLaren (1986), and Nias (1989), I felt that the classroom was only one area where teachers experienced this type of emotional labour, yet it was the area given most focus in the research I came across. My interest lay in the emotional labour associated with other aspects of teaching as well as classroom work, such as relationships with peers and managers, workload and the impact of educational reform.

Aims

Retraining as a person-centred counsellor brought into focus the importance of managing emotion and the effects of suppressing it (McLeod, 2007, p.171). Becoming aware of the difficulty in dealing with negative emotion led to the notion of coping strategies and support for teachers, hence the inclusion of a question about this on the interview schedule (Appendix 6, p.71). As a counselling trainee I became interested in the fact that although suppressing emotion can be damaging, it has become an accepted part of life (McLeod, 2007, p.171). This led me to question the impact of the performance element of teaching. Therefore, the aim of this study is to explore how individual teachers experience emotional labour in their work and how this affects them.

Having thus outlined the background of this study, the next chapter, the literature review, demonstrates the relevant contexts of this research. As well as using journal

articles and books I have attempted to include some unpublished works in order to add interest and information value (McLeod, 2003, p.11).

Using a qualitative approach for my research, more specifically Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (Smith, Flowers and Larkin, 2009), means that focus can be given to the rich detail offered by the participants' unique experiencing of the subject matter being explored. This idiographic approach to research allows for the individuality of each participant and the "*less tangible meanings*" (Finlay, 2011, p.8) to assume a greater importance, rather than becoming generalisations. In this sense, similarities and differences of experience are equally valuable, and each participant's narrative forms the data for the research. The interpretative process allowed me to reflect on the meaning behind the participants' experiences, and, as a hermeneutic endeavour, attempt to make sense of them. This has been done through the development of three super-ordinate themes, each containing three sub-themes, and is contained in the findings chapter.

A discussion of the findings from my five participants then follows, in which I offer my interpretation of their experiences. This study concludes with a brief summary, as well as implications for practice and suggestions for further research.

Chapter 2

Literature Review

Introduction

In order to place this study into a research context I undertook a review of the literature concerned with the demands of the profession of teaching, and the role of emotional support. By using Chester University's Learning and Information Services I was able to access a great deal of the available literature from both a social sciences perspective as well as an educational one, thus broadening the scope of the search. Initially the search terms I used focused on the emotional demands of teaching, and I used the PsycARTICLES, PsycINFO and Science Direct databases (Appendix 1, p.65). Realising that there was such a wealth of relevant research about the emotion work of teaching was reassuring but also disquieting. Having experienced teaching as an isolating profession for several years it felt very strange to be suddenly faced with a plethora of books and journal articles which highlighted similar experiences to my own, and not only normalised them but treated them as serious issues. McLeod's notion of a "*multiplicity of voices*" (McLeod, 1999, p.69) thus has a personal relevance and has enabled me to view the process of research in a particular field as a "*form of collective learning*" (McLeod, 2003, p.10). However, I noticed that there was very little research on the role of workplace support for teachers. Having read some of the initial literature I then widened my search to include books and journals from the Education Source database. Some literature was unavailable, but use of the inter-library loans system enabled me to access some older periodicals. Contacting authors directly was also useful and the means by which I was able to access a key article. I also used the snowballing technique to access further literature. Use of Google Scholar was the means by which I accessed a relevant but unpublished doctoral thesis.

This review will look at six main areas of research associated with teachers' emotional experience. Firstly, the role of emotion in teaching since it is universally accepted that teaching inevitably involves a high degree of emotion. Secondly I will look at research on teacher stress, since the word stress has come to be so invariably associated with teaching to the extent that it is almost a platitude. Thirdly, I will look at the origins of emotional labour and other associated phrases and attempt to define them. In the fourth section, I will look at teaching as a context for emotional labour, and in section five I will look at the emotional labour involved in some of the day-to-day experiences of teachers. Finally I will look at the possible short term and long-term consequences of emotional labour for teachers.

Emotion in Teaching

It is widely recognised that teaching is a profoundly emotional activity. Emotions *"lie at the heart of teaching"* (Hargreaves, 1998, p.835) and it is *"highly charged with feeling"* (Nias, 1996, p.293). Often described as a vocation, the accepted wisdom about teaching is that it is more than just a job, with a high level of personal investment in both subject and pupils. Most of the research I came across focuses on the emotion of teaching in general, rather than being specific to the educational phase, (i.e. primary, secondary etc.) although a small number are phase-specific, for example Hebson et al. (2007) who looked at the emotion work of primary school teachers, and Duffield et al. (2000) whose research focuses on secondary schools. My interest in the secondary phase arises from my teaching experience which has solely been in secondary education. This is because for secondary school teachers in particular, dealing with emotion is magnified by the 'storm and stress' of adolescence (Hall, 1904) where teachers are also managing the behaviour of

children at a particularly vulnerable time in their emotional development. Geving (2007) suggests that because children are reaching a time of transition into adulthood during secondary school, they feel more able to vocalise their dissatisfaction and frustrations with teachers more so than in primary school. Ultimately this leads to a more emotionally charged environment for teachers.

Because teachers tend to be emotionally attached to their work there are many positive feelings which arise from the day to day experience of doing their job. Hargreaves (1998) emphasises the passion teachers feel for their subject, the importance of the emotional connections they make with their pupils and the pleasure they derive when creativity and challenge are experienced (p.835). Woods and Jeffrey (1996) point to the emotional bonds which underpin good pedagogic practice, whilst van Manen (1985) and Eisner (1986) emphasise the role of the teacher's intuition in conjunction with emotionality in creating a positive classroom experience.

Since there is such potential for teaching to be emotionally rewarding, this begs the question of why there is so much evidence of negative emotion experienced by teachers (Kyriacou, 1987, Travers and Cooper, 1996, Brackett et al., 2010).

Teacher Stress

Research has shown that given the nature of the teaching role it invariably involves a substantial level of stress, therefore studies of the demands of teaching often look at the causes of teachers' work-related stress. The term 'teacher stress' was coined in *Educational Review* (Kyriacou and Sutcliffe, 1977) and since then there has been a significant amount of both quantitative and qualitative research into teacher stress

with the result that it is now widely accepted that teaching is one of the most stressful occupations (Johnson et al., 2005).

Since it is widely acknowledged that teaching is an emotionally demanding profession I was surprised to find that very little research exists on the notion of formal support for teachers in the form of counselling, de-briefing or supervision. The literature which is concerned with teacher support tends to focus on support from managers (Kyriacou, 2001) or workplace social support (Kinman et al., 2011). Fielding (2001) talks of “*mutually supportive endeavour*” (p.700), which is interesting from a person-centred counselling perspective as it echoes Rogers’ (1980) and Natiello’s (2001) embracing of the notions of mutuality and collaboration. The work of Pas et al. (2012) however, does use the term ‘consultation services’ to describe more formalised interventions for teachers.

Perhaps because stress is now such a well-used notion in describing teaching I was reluctant to use it for the title of this study. In my opinion there is a danger that over-use of such commonplace terms can render them meaningless, and there is already a great deal of negative commentary surrounding the profession. For example, Richardson (2012) who quotes Sir Michael Wilshaw, England’s chief inspector of schools, as critical of teachers who use stress as an excuse for “*poor performance*”. However, I am aware that considerable focus on the term stress in research studies, for example, Travers and Cooper (1993), Greenglass et al. (1997), Kyriacou (2001) and Connor (2008) has brought attention to the emotional demands of teaching and highlighted the need for fundamental improvement in teachers’ working conditions.

Emotional Labour

Thus, having looked at a range of literature on the nature of teacher stress and how this is inextricably linked to emotion, I decided to focus on the concept of emotional labour, how teachers experience this on a day-to-day basis and how this impacts on them. The concept of emotional labour is described in several journal articles relating to occupational stress and was introduced by Hochschild (1983). It can be defined as *‘the effort, planning and control needed to express organisationally desired emotion during interpersonal transactions’* (Morris and Feldman, 1996, p.987). Kinman et al. state that, *“As yet, however, little is known about the emotional demands faced by teachers”* (Kinman et al., 2011, p.843). Since the notion of emotional labour is of personal interest to me, my curiosity was aroused by this statement and gave me a potential area for investigative study.

Early research of emotional labour focused on service sector employees for example, Warr et al. (1979), Hochschild (1983) and Wharton and Erickson (1993). Hochschild (1983) identifies two levels of emotional labour: surface acting and deep acting. Surface acting is the pretence usually associated with many day-to-day workplace interactions and involves masking one's true emotion by overtly displaying another. This can be demonstrated using Hochschild's (1983) study of flight attendants. For example, in reassuring passengers during an emergency landing, the calm voice of the flight attendant may belie his or her actual feelings of anxiety and fear. The level termed deep acting involves actually modifying emotions rather than suppressing them in order to meet the demands of an organisation. For example, although annoyed by a rude passenger, a flight attendant in offering assistance realises that the passenger is anxious because her child is sick. By modifying emotion the worker starts to empathise with the customer (Hochschild, 1983).

Researchers such as Rafaeli and Sutton (1987) and Diefendorff et al. (2005) use the term 'emotional display rules' to describe the manner in which employees are expected to perform emotional labour. Typically, employees are aware of these expectations because many service sector organisations use explicit means of conveying them, such as corporate mottos, pledges to customers, and mission statements. However, Rafaeli and Sutton (1987) acknowledge that organisations are often ambiguous about their expectations for emotional display rules (p.24).

Bolton and Boyd (2003) expanded the work of Hochschild by classifying emotional labour into four distinct states: "*pecuniary*", "*prescriptive*", "*presentational*" and "*philanthropic*" (p.291). The identification of these four states recognises the complexities of the emotional demands of differing workplaces and professions. Since Hochschild's (1983) work focused on the emotional labour experienced by flight attendants, these would fall into the category of pecuniary emotional labour as the nature of their work ultimately depended on commercial gain for the organisation. The emotional labour of teachers is best represented by the prescriptive state, since it describes feelings which follow institutional or organisational rules and the formation of a professional identity. It also encompasses the altruistic nature of teaching, where motivation for emotional labour is not commercial gain.

Emotional Labour in Teaching

The teachers' pay and conditions document (Department for Education, 2014) highlights the importance of emotional labour in teaching in its contractual framework with the requirement for teachers to "*maintain good relationships with pupils*" (p.53) and to "*establish a safe and stimulating environment for pupils, rooted in mutual respect*" (p.51). In addition, one of Ofsted's requirements is for a "*positive climate*" in

the classroom (Ofsted, 2014, p.61). Thus, the statutory requirement and the inspection requirement intensify the need for teachers to be seen to be managing emotion correctly in the classroom. This is highlighted by Troman (2000), Fielding (2001) and Perryman (2007).

Since teaching is widely accepted as an emotional and emotionally demanding occupation it follows that the additional expectation on teachers not only to model appropriate emotions, but also to respond to and manage someone else's emotion at a crucial stage in their development means that the emotional labour involved in teaching is markedly more demanding than in other occupations (Brackett et al., 2010). Moreover, teachers' experiences of emotional labour differ from those experienced in other workplaces because of the frequency of their interactions and their longer term relationship with their 'clients' (Morris and Feldman, 1996).

Despite the demands on teachers for the performance of emotional labour, very little research exists on this topic (Brown, 2011). Although there is a wealth of research on the emotional aspects of teaching, most emotional labour research is concerned with the emotional regulation abilities of teachers rather than how emotional labour is experienced by them (Brackett et al. 2010, Sutton, 2004, Jennings and Greenberg, 2009). Although emotional labour inevitably involves the conscious management of one's emotions, emotional regulation can be defined as, *"the process by which individuals influence which emotions they have, when they have them, and how they experience and express these emotions"* (Gross, 1998, p.275). Gross (1998) proposes a model of emotional regulation which describes the way in which employees process their emotional labour. Because both involve the control of emotion it becomes difficult to differentiate between them. However, there are three

distinct differences. Firstly, emotional labour is related to work. Secondly, the emotional display rules are organisationally determined and thirdly, emotional labour is focused on another person rather than the self (Brown, 2011).

How teachers experience emotional labour

Research demonstrates that teachers engage in a wealth of emotional labour throughout the working day (Brown, 2011). This takes the form of both surface acting and deep acting (Hochschild, 1983) and can involve interactions with pupils, parents, colleagues and superiors. Brown (2011) also found that while most respondents' experiences of deep acting were with pupils, most surface acting took place outside of the classroom, i.e. in interactions with colleagues and superiors.

The emotional labour involved in teaching is largely seen by researchers through the nature of interactions with pupils, and the image of the teacher as being a caring professional is a major aspect of the job (Isenbarger and Zembylas, 2006). Traditional expectations of teachers are as resolvers of conflict (Merazzi, 1983) or "*friend, colleague and helper*" (Travers and Cooper, 1996, p.9). These role expectations along with Fried's (1995) portrayal of 'the passionate teacher' demonstrate the positive emotions associated with teaching. However, researchers have found that interactions with pupils can also be a source of negative emotion, for example, Kinman et al. (2011), Burke and Greenglass (1995) and Turk, Meeks and Turk (1982). Kyriacou (2001) and Travers and Cooper (1996) highlight maintaining classroom discipline as a source of negative emotion, leading to teacher stress. Carlyle and Woods (2002) indicate that managing abusive, stressed, challenging and aggressive students escalates the degree of emotional labour for teachers with a negative effect. This view is reinforced by Klassen (2010).

Other sources of emotional labour for teachers include the radical change associated with the profession, and Kyriacou (2001) identifies educational change as a source of stress for teachers. Hargreaves (1998) goes further and argues that educational reform, a constant pressure in teachers' lives, makes it more difficult for them to sustain their emotional commitment to pupils. This is echoed by Forrester (2005) who describes the shift away from the caring aspects of the role to the performing aspects of the role if teachers are to successfully pass inspections and observations. Thus, the notion of playing a role which is the normal expectation of emotional labour in teaching takes on a new dimension.

The 'standards agenda' (Thrupp, 2001) is highlighted by Hebson et al. (2007) as having a major impact on the emotional work of primary school teachers, and this has also extended to secondary schools (Duffield et al., 2000). Kyriacou's (2001) assertion that being evaluated by others is a major source of stress for teachers is emphasised more stridently by Rea and Weiner (1997): *"present-day teachers who are 'named and blamed' for the failings of decades of inadequate education recipes and policies"* (p.3), and by Jeffrey and Woods (1996) who describe the extreme emotional labour involved during an Ofsted inspection.

Intrinsic to the standards agenda is the notion of outcome measures which have come into effect in secondary schools. Leckie and Goldstein (2009) indicate the limitations of the widespread use of school league tables, whilst Perryman et al. (2011) describe the demoralising effects of such performance measures as a 'pressure cooker' for teachers. The emotional labour for teachers in this area is extremely demanding since they have to be seen to be promoting the importance of such standards. Thus, Hebson et al. (2007) argue that public sector professionals are being judged by the 'alien' standards of pecuniary emotional labour (p.683).

Research has also found that a heavy workload takes an emotional toll on teachers (Naylor, 2001, Chan, 2006, Rothi et al., 2010). In fact, a report commissioned by the DfES by Price Waterhouse Coopers concluded that a reduction in teachers' workload was essential in order to improve pupil performance (DfES, 2001). Rothi et al. (2010) identified teachers as having higher than average mental health disorders with excessive workload cited as one of the main causal factors. The emotional labour involved in excessive workload encompasses the increased bureaucratisation of teaching (Rothi et al., 2010) where teachers are engaging in needless administrative tasks in an age of accountability (Perryman et al., 2011).

The Impact of Emotional Labour on Teachers

The association between teaching and caring has long been recognised (Noddings, 1992, Heath, 1994, Collinson et al., 1999). Isenbarger and Zembylas (2006) recognise the emotional labour inherent in this role of the teacher and argue that this places a significant demand on teachers. However, research shows that there are positive effects of emotional labour on job satisfaction (Travers and Cooper, 1993 and 1996, Brackett et al., 2010), and many teachers believe that some degree of emotional labour is essential to their role, and if managed correctly actually increases effectiveness (Sutton, 2004). For example, teachers feeling that they make a positive contribution to their students' lives (Isenbarger and Zembylas, 2006).

What Hochschild (1983) and other researchers found is that sustained emotional labour can have the effect that workers start to experience exhaustion and/or burn-out, suppress the real self and suffer from a distorted emotional reality (Hochschild,

1983). Colley (2006) describes the negative consequences of such emotional work as *“not a source of human bonding and satisfaction, but of alienation and eventual emotional burn-out”* (p.16). In fact, much of the research on emotional labour also involves the study of burn-out, for example, Roger and Hudson, (1995), Grandey (2000), Zhang and Zhu (2008) and Brackett et al. (2010). Since the links between emotional labour and emotional exhaustion are widely recognised (Kruml and Geddes, 2000, Goldberg and Grandey, 2007), this indicates that teachers’ well-being is at risk if the impact of emotional labour is significant.

Conclusion

This literature review is thematic in approach and attempts to summarise the literature surrounding the different facets of the emotion work of teaching. After being initially surprised at the wealth of published research on the emotional nature of teaching, I became aware that research on the lived experience of emotional labour in teaching was scarce. Although widely accepted as an intrinsic part of teaching, little is known about the type of emotional labour teachers engage in, how they experience it and what effect this has. By focusing on the day-to-day experiences of teachers I hope to discover something which will contribute to the ‘conversation’ of research.

Chapter 3

Methodology

Introduction

One of the principal aims of this study is to attempt to make sense of teachers' experiences of emotional labour. McLeod's description of qualitative research as "*developing a deeper understanding of the inquiry process*" (McLeod, 2001, p.18) reflects the intention behind this study. Although much of the previous research in this field provides useful statistical information, the intention here is to find meaning in the lived experience of each individual. Thus a qualitative enquiry with a phenomenological underpinning will allow for "*a conversation with a purpose*" (Smith et al., 2009, p.57) so that the richness of detail of each person's experience becomes a fundamental aspect of the research.

Quantitative Research

Since 'outcome' is one of the most important factors in research (McLeod, 1999, Maykut and Morehouse, 1994, Mearns and McLeod, 1984) it follows that quantitative research is useful because it provides a clear means by which outcomes can be measured. The use of statistics inherent in quantitative research enables researchers to assess whether results are representative, reliable and valid. Other advantages include the ability to make comparisons across different groups of people, to find patterns of behaviour in people's experiences and to synthesize data into workable categories. Hence the use of questionnaires such as the Core 34 in clinical settings (McLeod, 1999, p.91) has become commonplace.

Traditionally, much of the research involving teaching has used quantitative methodologies in order to provide information. This has been useful because, as Wilkins states, *“it is the evidence from quantitative research that has the most profound effect on the development of policy and funding”* (Wilkins, 2010, p.215). Such research has resulted in significant change for teachers to their working conditions, most notably with the implementation of the ‘National Agreement’ in 2003 (ATL et al., 2003) which required schools to remove many subsidiary duties and bureaucratic processes from teachers. The purpose of this *“historic”* agreement (ATL et al., 2003) was to allow teachers to get on with the job of teaching unconstrained by non-pedagogic burdens and arose from an independent study into teachers’ workload commissioned by the Department for Education and Skills and carried out by Pricewaterhouse Coopers (2001).

Qualitative Research

Interestingly, despite the National Agreement teacher absence due to anxiety-related illness has continued to increase (Department for Education, 2013) and the majority of teachers continue to describe morale as low and the job as stressful (YouGov, 2012). Thus there is, in my view, a place for qualitative research in these areas in order to *“capture the wholeness of the experience”* (McLeod, 1993, p.41). Just as quantitative research is useful because it allows for representational judgements to be made, this can nevertheless be seen as a restricting factor because it generalises human experience, allowing assumptions to be made. The specific nature of questionnaires in quantitative research limits the participant’s response to varying degrees. From a simple checklist structure, to a more wide-ranging Likert scale five or seven-point range of agreement-disagreement (McLeod, 1999, p.92), there is inevitably a constraint on the participant because this type of question does not allow

for intensity of feeling or quality of experience (McLeod, 2003, p.42). As a person-centred counsellor the nature of qualitative research is appealing because of its focus on the individual's experience. The need for "*significant new knowledge*" for human science as described by Moustakas (1994, p.xiv) thus goes beyond the limitations of restricting questionnaires. The phenomenological grounding of person-centred theory (Mearns and Thorne, 1988, Merry, 2002) also ties in well with this aspect of qualitative research in that how we each make sense of the world depends on our unique experiencing of it.

Although this means that the research will inevitably be subjective, it nevertheless has been widely recognised as having an important part to play: "*the human organism when operating freely and non-defensively is perhaps the best scientific tool in existence, and is able to sense a pattern long before it can consciously formulate one*" (Rogers, 1968, cited in Kirschenbaum and Henderson, 1990, p.270). This view is reinforced through developments in qualitative research, for example by Maykut and Morehouse who state that, "*the qualitative researcher attempts to capture what people say and do, that is, the products of how people interpret the world*" (Maykut and Morehouse, 1994, p.18).

Since the theme of this study is related to my own experiences in teaching I am aware of the potential for my own views to influence the findings of this research. The "bracketing off" (Smith, 2007, p.6) of my own assumptions about the subject matter will need to be addressed, thus the process of 'epoché' (Maykut and Morehouse, 1994) will be applied. I recognise that research and researcher are inextricably linked and am therefore aware of the paradox highlighted by Elliott and Williams (2001) that

whilst my own frames of reference cannot be escaped, I will by necessity allow for the participants' voices to be heard and for the meanings of their material to emerge.

In this respect there will be transparency in the process of research (Flick, 2011) as I acknowledge the impact of my own experiences, whilst at the same time becoming immersed in the experience of the participants (Mintz, 2010). To be critically reflective about a subject which is so personally emotive provides a difficult yet appealing challenge.

Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA)

Since IPA focuses on how people engage with experiences in their lives it allows for a process of reflexivity which enables individuals to make sense of what can appear to be everyday occurrences but which take on a particular significance. Thus a detailed exploration of how a phenomenon is lived and the richness of this detail are fundamental. The hermeneutic stance of IPA and its concern with "*the human predicament*" (Smith et al., 2009, p.5) acknowledges the involvement of both researcher and participant in the phenomenology of lived experience, thus illustrating the "*hermeneutic circle of the research process*" (Smith et al., 2009, p.35). The philosophical underpinning of IPA also ties in with the phenomenological and existential approach of person-centred theory which was the initial platform for this study.

Sampling

The recommendation that a small sample group, homogeneous in nature lends itself to effective qualitative research (Smith et al., 2009, pp.3-4) was appealing as this allowed for the use of detailed accounts from participants, with the opportunity to look

at similarities and differences within the group. Purposive sampling, that is, participants who are “*deliberately selected for their known attributes*” (Denscombe, 2010, p.34) would allow for participants with specific experience to be chosen, and therefore likely to provide insights into the nature of the topic being researched. However, I was also aware of the requirement to avoid dual relationships (Bond, 2004).

It was intended that participants for this study were UK secondary school teachers with current or recent experience. There was no gender or age bias, nor any limitation to employment setting, such as type and size of secondary school because I wished to avoid what Smith et al. (2009) term “*identikit*” participants (p.49). Pragmatism dictated however, so the range of age, gender and subject area was not as varied as I would have liked. The use of five participants was intended to ensure that the sample was small enough to capture and accurately reflect the experience of each individual participant, thus focusing on their “*lived experience*” (McLeod, 2001, p.148). Advertising with the Times Educational Supplement, and BACP notice board resulted in three participants being recruited (Appendices 2b-2c, pp.67-68). The other two participants were found using the “snowballing” method (Denscombe, 2010). The NASUWT teaching union also expressed an interest in my area of research after I contacted them, and offered to place my advertisement in their newsletter to area representatives (Appendix 2a, p.66). However, this did not result in any uptake.

McLeod’s (1999) invitation to find participants who were “*theoretically interesting*” (p.79) was challenging as it was not possible to find participants who could each completely represent a different aspect of the area being researched. All five participants were women, three of whom had over twenty years experience in

teaching. Two of the participants taught the same subject, and three worked in the same county, although in different schools. However, I believed that the homogeneous nature of the sample would mean that the research area would be meaningful to them and would thus provide a wealth of interesting data.

Data Collection

The use of semi-structured interviews as a means of data collection appeared to be the most suitable for this study, mainly because this allows the participant to have an important stake in the material (Smith et al., 2009, p.4) as well as providing an opportunity for establishing a relationship based on the principles of person-centred counselling, i.e. demonstrating acceptance, empathy and congruence (McLeod, 2003, p.76). Creating the 'safe space' which is also a principle of the person-centred approach (Mearns and Cooper, 2005) was important in order for the participant to feel able to engage in a personal discussion about potentially sensitive issues. McLeod (1999) cautions against allowing the interview to become a counselling session (p.77) which was pertinent here, since the participants would ideally be serving teachers, probably without any counselling practitioner experience and therefore unused to situations involving lengthy one-to-one discussion of emotional experiences. Finding a means of allowing participants to feel able to share highly personal information whilst keeping in mind the purpose of the task (Willig, 2001) would therefore be a delicate balancing act. Added to this was the need for the relationship to be as equal as possible, managing the direction of the interview whilst at the same time adopting the stance of "*naïve but curious listener*" (Smith et al., 2009, p.64) and focusing on the notion of the participant as the expert. There was also an awareness of myself as an inexperienced researcher, and I was therefore

mindful of the need to keep my own anxiety at bay so as not to make my participants feel uncomfortable (Smith et al., 2009, p.59) and impede the flow of the interview.

Using an interview schedule was a means of staying within the guidelines of IPA (Smith et al., 2009, p.58) and provided the opportunity to plan an agenda to keep the interview loosely on track, something which I felt would be useful given my lack of previous experience in carrying out research. My “conscious partiality” (Mies, 1993) with the subject material meant that I knew the broad area of interest I wanted to research, yet was aware of the importance of keeping a sense of ‘bracketing off’ so as not to over-influence the resulting data. McLeod (1999) states that, *“the possibilities for analysing data are always constrained by the preceding stages in a study”* (p.109), and my knowledge of this aroused some anxiety, with the result that my first draft of the interview schedule contained too many questions. In consultation with my research supervisor I redrafted the questions. Focusing on simplicity (Maykut and Morehouse, 1994) meant that I was able to refine them into more manageable components and finalise my schedule into ten questions (Appendix 3, p.69). Each participant was offered the opportunity to read the questions in advance, with only one choosing to do so.

Correspondence with participants was via email and was used for sending the consent form, information sheet and setting up the interviews. The preferred choice of location for all the participants was the University of Chester, and the interviews took place in the private study spaces in the main campus library. Each interview lasted between forty minutes and an hour, and all were recorded using a digital voice recorder. As the interviews progressed I became aware of participants moving from generic descriptions to specific accounts containing thoughts and feelings (Smith et

al., 2009, p.68). At the end of the interview each participant was offered the opportunity to view the transcript once completed, and one participant accepted this offer. Although a copy of the consent form had been sent via email it was signed at the interview, thus carrying out the recommendation that consent be revisited (Smith et al., 2009, p.53). Participants were also reminded of their right to withdraw from the study.

Ethics

With any social science research it is important that a study meets the expectation that all tasks should be carried out in an ethical manner (Denscombe, 2010, p.329). In order to protect participants and to ensure the trustworthiness of the research process this study was carried out in accordance with the BACP's 'Ethical Framework for Good Practice in Counselling' (BACP 2013), the 'procedural ethics' outlined by Guillemin and Gillam (2004) and the University of Chester Research Governance Handbook (2014). Ethical approval for this study was granted by the University of Chester Ethics Committee.

In keeping with ethical guidelines emphasis was placed on the core principles of autonomy, beneficence, non-maleficence and trust (BACP, 2013). Participants' autonomy was safeguarded by the provision of a Research Information Sheet (Appendix 5, p.71) and a copy of the interview schedule (Appendix 3, p.69), thus adhering to the principle of informed consent. It was also made clear that participation was voluntary with the right to withdraw at any time. It was hoped that beneficence, that is the promotion of the participants' well-being, may have been achieved through a greater awareness of the issues raised in the subject matter of the research, i.e. of emotional labour, and may even have led participants to seek

interventions to help with the possible impact of this, thus enhancing their well-being. In consideration of the avoidance of psychological harm to participants (non-maleficence) it was important that participants' attention was drawn to the fact that the nature of the research could be deemed sensitive, in that they would be likely to disclose material of a personal and emotional nature. Since the participants were not practising counsellors and in all likelihood without access to professional supervision, information was provided as to how they could access professional counselling if necessary (Appendix 5, p.71). In addressing the principle of trust, although total confidentiality cannot be guaranteed with research (Smith et al., 2009, p.53), the privacy and anonymity of the participants was maximised through the allocation of pseudonyms and the removal of information which may further identify the participants. Every effort was made to conduct this study in an open and honest manner and to operate with "*scientific integrity*" (Denscombe, 2010, p.336). In addition, the researcher's "*responsibility to self*" (Mintz, 2010, p.89) was given consideration through regular supervision with my research supervisor.

Validity and Trustworthiness

It is generally accepted that establishing validity in qualitative research is more complex than in quantitative research, principally because qualitative research is measured with words as opposed to numbers. As McLeod states, "*it is clear that the specific quality criteria used in quantitative research cannot be applied in qualitative research in any straightforward manner*" (McLeod, 2001, p.266). However, Elliott, Fischer and Rennie (1999) provide a useful and widely accepted framework for this type of study which ensures rigour without rigidity (pp.217-218) and allows for the creative potential offered by qualitative research (p.215). McLeod's thirteen "*procedures for enhancing the validity of qualitative research*" (McLeod, 2001,

pp.273-278) provide additional strategies for ensuring that research is credible. By using these criteria and those of Elliott, Fisher and Rennie (1999) it is hoped that this study will be trustworthy, rigorous and reliable. Since valid research requires safeguarding against bias (McLeod, 1999, p.17), Denscombe's recommendation of using an audit trail is a means of providing reliability in that it would be clear to other researchers how the conclusions had been reached (2010, p.300). Therefore the inclusion of an audit trail demonstrates my commitment to providing transparent evidence of my research process. This ties in with the requirements of IPA to ensure that a study is "*plausible or credible*" (Smith et al., 2009, p.183). I have also adhered to the principle of "*sensitivity to context*" (Yardley, 2000) by demonstrating a close engagement with the subject matter through purposive sampling, empathising with participants' experiences by reflecting their voice through the use of transcribed material, and ultimately attempting to make sense of them through detailed analysis.

Data Analysis

Rather than attempting to prove a hypothesis as with traditional research my intention has been for this study to have an inductive approach to the data (Smith et al., 2009, p.46), thus giving each participant an authentic voice, as well as allowing for immersion in the data (Mintz, 2010, p.85). The importance in IPA of each individual's attempts to make sense of their lived experience is also in keeping with the person-centred approach. This commitment to the importance of the individual's response in analysing data is appealing in that it avoids generalisations being made too soon in the process (Smith et al., p.31). It also avoids the unitising, categorising and coding of the Constant Comparative method of analysis (Maykut and Morehouse, 1994) which in my view would impede my immersion in the data. The immersion into the individual world of each participant during the interviews and later in the

transcription process, was freeing in that I was able to focus as fully as possible on the richness of the detail provided by the participants. McLeod's (1999) suggestion of a repetition of the research cycle in order to enrich the analysis (p.72) was impossible due to the short timescale of the study, but this was mitigated by the use of a reflective journal during the transcribing period as it allowed me to keep an emphasis on the personal nature of my research (McLeod, 1999, p.74). The notion of "intersubjectivity" (Moustakas, 1994, Finlay and Gough, 2003) that is, the relationship between researcher and data, became a focus for me during this time as I immersed myself in the material. Once typed, I then used Smith et al's (2009) method of arranging the transcript into three columns, firstly highlighting significant elements in the middle column. This was followed by annotation of the transcript on the right hand side (Smith et al., 2009, pp.85-87), followed by the listing of emergent themes on the left (Smith et al., pp.93-95) I then used different colours to highlight the descriptive, linguistic and conceptual elements of the analysis (Appendix 7, p.75). Following on from this I listed the emergent themes for each participant, firstly as they occurred in the transcript (Appendix 8, p.78) and secondly, in groups according to what I felt might become themes (Appendix 9a, p.88). In looking for patterns across the data (Smith et al., 2009, p.101) it was helpful to create a table of common themes (Appendix 9b, p.90). This process helped me identify common super-ordinate themes and sub-themes which were then colour-coded according to the theme represented (Appendix 9c p.91). To enhance the trustworthiness of my study (McLeod, 1999) I have also provided an example of quotes to support each theme (Appendix 10, p.92), as well as a list of themes with the relevant page/line numbers (Appendix 11, p.96). Tabling themes was a useful process as it highlighted the "*double hermeneutic*" (Smith et al., 2009, p.35) of the process, allowing me to view myself making sense of my participants who are making sense of their experience. Looking back at the

transcripts I noticed that elements which had not been highlighted gave some insight into the unique experiences of the participants, individual and divergent from the common themes.

Limitations

As a small-scale study this research has an exploratory and descriptive focus, therefore it will not provide generalisations or universal truths. My status as a novice researcher may also impact on the findings (Hennink, Hutter and Bailey, 2011). Financial and practical considerations meant that there were limitations to the location of the sample, which, although from three different counties, all were based in the north-west of England. This could affect the applicability of the findings since the research focus was on UK teachers. In addition, all participants were female which further limits applicability.

Chapter 4

Findings

The findings of this study are presented thematically with three super-ordinate themes, each with three sub-themes, and this is represented in the table below. Data from all participants is used in each super-ordinate theme, with contributions from at least four out of the five participants included in each sub-theme. This means that the chosen themes are those which most fully represent the participant voice and acknowledge the fact that the participants have an important stake in the material being covered (Smith et al., 2009, p.2).

Overview of super-ordinate themes with sub-themes
1. The expectation to conform 1a. The removal of individuality 1b. The fear of not conforming 1c. Not having a voice 2. The focus on outcome measures 2a. Targets/Improvement 2b. The blame culture 2c. Collusion 3. The impact in the classroom 3a. Authentic emotion versus inauthentic emotion 3b. Workload issues 3c. 'Them and us'

The small-scale nature of the study means that many interesting themes could not be examined in detail. For example, the notion that teachers feel negatively perceived by society as a whole was one which was mentioned by all five participants. Although interesting in itself, it is not dealt with here as a separate theme as it is an underlying feature of the super-ordinate themes. As part of the hermeneutic circle the themes I

have focused on reflect my interest in the subject matter as well as the universality of the participants' experiences. The quotes used are verbatim extracts from the participants' material and I have attempted to use those which capture most fully the significance of these experiences. Further biographical details of each participant can be found in Appendix 6, p.74.

Alison: Aged in her 50s and a teacher for over twenty years, she looks at the 'unreality' of the school environment and how she is expected to collude in maintaining a false persona, not only in the classroom but also with colleagues and superiors.

Becky: Also in her 50s and a teacher for over thirty years she describes the challenges of dealing with pupils in the classroom and the emotional labour of what she perceives as acting a part. She also talks about her anger at the counter-productive methods used to assess teachers.

Chloe: In her 40s and having taught for just over twenty years she talks about how unsupported she feels by those who manage the school and how she does not have a voice when it comes to decisions that are made which directly affect her. She feels as though she is treated like a child, not a professional.

Di: A 40-year-old teacher with ten years' experience, having previously worked in industry, she focuses on the climate of fear which she has experienced in all the schools she has worked in. This is intensified by a dismantling of teachers' individuality in order to gain organisational control of every aspect of the teaching and learning process.

Ellie: Aged in her thirties with less than ten years' experience, and having come into teaching late as a result of working as a manager in industry, she focuses on the emotional rollercoaster which she experiences in the classroom, and how she makes emotional labour work for her. She also describes the intense frustration she feels in attempting to live with the absurdity of target-setting and predicted grades and how she is expected to put these into practice in a meaningful way for pupils.

1. The expectation to conform.

1a. The removal of individuality.

All five participants talked about the expectation from their managers to behave in an unemotional way. Three used the word 'robot' or similar to describe the manner in which they were expected to work. For Chloe this impacted on her relationships in the classroom:

"I don't think you get the best out of the children if you are just a robot at the front of the room, and I think you have to be human to do it effectively." (Chloe, 19/10)

For Alison this impacted on her both in and out of the classroom:

"There is an expectation you know, you really are pretending to be this almost robotic type of super, moral, well-behaved, upstanding, no-flaws member of the community for all the time that you're in that role." (Alison, 1/18)

This view is echoed by Becky:

"There is that very clear-cut expectation that you don't show any great levels of emotion." (Becky, 3/17)

Di took the analogy even further:

"I don't think they want diverse. I think they want robotic don't they? It's almost a bit Nineteen Eighty-Four sometimes. They're all stood in their blue boiler-

suits you know, and they're all saying the same thing at the screen and that's what they want." (Di, 9/13)

For her this also manifested itself in terms of lesson structure for which her managers wanted conformity across the school:

"They don't want personality, they want everything to be the same, lessons to be the same, you know...they want twenty minutes of the lesson spent one way, ten the other, whatever it is." (Di, 11/46)

For Di the sadness in this was apparent as it contrasted enormously with the passion she had for her subject and for teaching itself:

"When you put such a huge amount of importance on something, so the vocation for me, and you feel that you're being compromised as a person in order to do that properly it's very, very, very difficult." (Di, 10/44)

For Ellie the impact was also on the fact that she was prevented by the school's system from viewing her pupils as individuals:

"You know, governments and departments and schools say, 'you need to collect this data,' and you're thinking, yes but this is a person. How can you relate some types of data to a person?" (Ellie, 3/32)

Eventually for Di her coping mechanism was to actually try and become machine-like and unemotional:

"Trying not to care is another...I had a job when I was about twenty, pushing pizzas into slots and I try and treat it like that. You know, think 'well it's just a job. I can only do so much within that time.' But you can't do that and do the job properly." (Di, 10/1)

1b. The fear of not conforming.

For four of the participants there was an explicit acknowledgement of the climate of fear apparent in schools. This manifested itself in two significant ways; fear of being deemed inadequate as a teacher and fear of losing one's job. Astonishingly, the fear of failure appeared to outweigh the fear of financial loss.

Chloe spoke about her main fear very early in the interview:

"You want to get things right as regards to pleasing your leadership team. You don't want to be seen as a failing teacher, but it's emotional for me because I want them to see that I'm not a failing teacher." (Chloe, 1/20)

This was echoed by Di:

"There's a constant use of politics to make you feel inadequate. In spite of the fact that you have full evidence that you're not inadequate, you know you're not inadequate...and it does create a climate of fear." (Di, 3/30)

And Ellie's fear over lesson observations by the headteacher was similar:

"One hour out of eight hundred a year he might come, so that is what he will judge me on... Why are we making people feel like failures if they don't get 'outstanding'?" (Ellie, 13/7)

Alison spoke of the fear of 'consequences' if she did not do as she was told:

"Like, in another job you might make some kind of a joke about it, whereas here you really have to be seen to be taking every little thing seriously, and if you don't mention something your head's on the block." (Alison, 3/40)

Chloe's focus was also on the potential consequences of not attending meetings because of the demand for extra-curricular activities in her subject:

"You want to get it right and be the good teacher and not get into trouble for not going to things. And you don't want to rear your head as being a problem."
(Chloe, 3/3)

For Alison the fear of losing her job was very real:

"You can't be seen to be a troublemaker...if you want to be a trailblazer you must have some sort of private income." (Alison, 14/41)

1c. Not having a voice.

Four participants felt that they were excluded from their school's decision-making process to the extent that their voice went unheard even over issues that affected them directly. As Chloe states:

"I tend to tell SLT [Senior Leadership Team] over certain things that I feel are a bit unjustified you know, but you tend to get a bit of a blanket response or, you know, 'this is the decision that's been made' or 'this is what we're doing' and I think, well hang on a minute, that's not very fair." (Chloe, 7/6)

The lack of consultation was frustrating for Ellie:

"I was so frustrated because our head had just completely ignored everything we'd been saying and what we'd been doing." (Ellie, 23/18)

Her frustration is echoed by Di:

"When you're trying to say, 'actually, that's not going to work.' And they basically come up with feeble solutions and sort of put those to you as an absolute. Or call you negative." (Di, 12/16)

For Alison openly disagreeing with the school's policies is almost inconceivable:

"What you are deemed to be saying is, 'there is no value in...' or 'I personally don't agree'. You're just sticking yourself up to be shot down. I feel that unless you want to be some kind of scapegoat you have no choice." (Alison, 13/40)

Di sums it up by saying:

“Nodding’s better! They prefer nodding!” (Di, 6/33)

2. The focus on outcome measures.

2a. Targets/Continuous improvement.

Since the introduction of school league tables the increase in the use by secondary schools of target grades and predicted grades has produced a focus on the need to provide evidence of continual improvement. This was an area mentioned by four participants.

In Di’s experience the focus on improvement has been misused by schools:

“I do think in all the schools I’ve worked in it’s kind of misunderstood, misinterpreted and almost used as a bit of a stick for impossible continual improvement for both staff and kids.” (Di, 1/29)

The impossibility is reflected by Chloe:

“So now we have to prove four levels of progress for every child which is ridiculous, because even if they get an A they might only have improved by three levels.” (Chloe, 19/44)*

And by Becky:

“Because you can’t continue to consistently improve, you know...I think targets and the constant pressure to improve, improve, improve, it’s unrealistic.” (Becky, 19/17)

The focus on target grades is something which Ellie finds problematic:

“I really object to kids having target grades based on a system that has an error value of plus or minus one, and based on exams they do in one week at the end of Year 6.” (Ellie, 14/2)

For Di the consequences are something to be feared:

“You have to see the senior managers if someone doesn’t get the results and they’re usually not there the year after, which does kind of make it feel a bit threatening.” (Di, 3/41)

2b. The blame culture

Increasingly, the focus on outcome measures has been underscored by a blame culture particularly represented by what senior managers perceive to be the demands of Ofsted.

“We now have what they call learning walks. It’s just a disguise for constant lesson observation. Their excuse is that it’s ‘just in case’ Ofsted come in.” (Chloe, 20/10)

The critical nature of Ofsted judgements reinforces Ellie’s sense of powerlessness:

“I have no respect for the Ofsted criteria because I do not believe it assesses anybody, except provides data en masse to say whatever a politician wants it to say. So I have no respect for the Ofsted criteria.” (Ellie, 13/22)

Chloe believes that the way Ofsted functions contributes to her sense of disenchantment with some aspects of teaching:

“Ofsted aren’t interested in what you’re doing. All they do is point out your failings and don’t give you any constructive feedback. I’m tired of getting the blame.” (Chloe, 20/30)

The overwhelming focus on Ofsted is a source of pressure for Becky:

“You know, they don’t seem to ever take a realistic perspective on Ofsted in terms of, this is a bunch of people who don’t really know any more than you how to teach. But the importance that’s placed on it and the pressure that’s put on you to perform, to jump through hoops and to get this ‘outstanding’.” (Becky, 5/5)

For Di, receiving mixed messages from senior managers and Ofsted was frustrating:

"The reality is the SLT in schools are frightened because obviously they've got more to lose haven't they? They're going to be...Ofsted come in and 'Special Measures', it's 'off with your head', so that comes down to us in the form of, 'Ofsted want this, Ofsted want that.' The reality is Ofsted don't want that." (Di, 12/29)

2c. Collusion

The participants expressed the notion of collusion which was inherent in their everyday experience of teaching, particularly over policies they felt were a waste of time. The implication of deception was one which Alison felt angry with:

"So we all collude, we all sit there and go, 'Mmm' and you don't say to everyone else do you, 'I'm not blinking doing that.' You just keep your mouth shut and don't do it." (Alison, 14/3)

Becky also felt anger at being compelled to collude in stressing the importance of exam results:

"We all nod our heads and say, 'yes, that's what we're doing.' And yet I know that probably most people recognise it's a nonsense, that it can't happen. There are certain students who will never get a C." (Becky, 19/33)

For Di presenting an image that all is well is detrimental to her:

"...it damages you as a person because you don't feel respected...The senior management think everything's tickety-boo. They think it's all running well because they're not hearing anything and it all appears nice on the surface." (Di, 10/42)

For Ellie, the effect on her pupils of colluding with a system she fundamentally disagrees with is something she finds difficult:

"But if you take each individual child, you have the ones that are never going to reach their target, and the ones that are way above target...and I really

think that at the age of 16 you should not be doing...sending kids away where their whole school life has been below target. “ (Ellie, 15/18)

Becky described the lack of choice she has:

“But that’s kind of how you feel, that you’ve got to jump on that bandwagon and play that game.” (Becky, 19/2)

3. The impact in the classroom.

3a. Authentic emotion versus inauthentic emotion.

Interestingly, the five participants described the suppression of emotion in the classroom as having positive benefits for themselves.

For example, Ellie described the effect of suppressing the anger she felt towards pupils:

“...first of all you have to suppress your annoyance and do what you know is right rather than what you’ll want to do, and then it just becomes habit...After a while you deal with things in a different way...instead of me getting annoyed and coming away from the lesson feeling angry, it meant that I felt much calmer.” (Ellie, 7/32)

This was similar to Chloe’s belief in being a good role model for pupils:

“...you have that flash of anger and you know, you’re angry in front of the kids, I can see then to suppress that is a positive thing, because they don’t want to see that someone’s just come in and made you crotchety when we were having a good lesson.” (Chloe, 8/6)

For Becky this helped forge positive relationships with pupils:

“You’ve got to get them to respect you, and that isn’t by being their friend...It is by setting them an example, but also it’s by having a sense of humour, letting them think you like them even if you don’t like them...reinforcing their positives and sort of try and play on that side rather than the negatives of their personality.” (Becky, 11/7)

It also helped reinforce her belief that an important part of teaching is making pupils feel secure and valued:

"I think that's kind of part of our job, particularly the more challenging kids who come from challenging backgrounds with, you know, don't feel loved and don't feel wanted in lots of situations, so if we can give them a little bit of security, stability and a feeling of being appreciated, then they'll value that. You know, they won't always be great but you can usually win them over a bit with that if you've got their respect." (Becky, 11/30)

She acknowledged that although acting a part is an inevitable aspect of being a teacher she does find it emotionally demanding:

"It can take it out of you... You have to play a role don't you? So you have to do pretend angry, and often if you are genuinely angry you can't show that you're genuinely angry, so you are suppressing that, I suppose, to some degree." (Becky, 1/20)

Alison described having an expectation on herself to be a good role model:

"I have an expectation of myself also to behave in a particular way. It would be inappropriate not to adopt the persona because it can be misconstrued." (Alison, 4/36)

She felt that this actually helped her:

"I don't think it's always appropriate for us to express our authentic feelings... I think you make better decisions when you're able to be objective." (Alison, 6/4)

Conversely, the participants felt that the times they were most able to display authentic emotion was also in the classroom. For Alison this was in the form of acknowledging that like the pupils, she too was subjected to following rules:

"I think you can acknowledge that at least with the kids, which I think does make for a better relationship. I don't really draw the line completely, but you're able to say, 'I've got to say this so I am saying it.'" (Alison, 16/35)

For Chloe, being her authentic self with her pupils was very satisfying:

"I think the children who come to my lessons respond to it. And they respond to me and my emotions and I think it works. So in the classroom I don't feel that I've got to be a certain stereotype, I haven't at all." (Chloe, 18/31)

She felt that the nature of her subject (Music) meant that she could be authentic with the pupils:

"If something has happened I share it with the children if it's going to directly affect them...But I am quite lucky in that I do have students that share my concerns about Music as well." (Chloe, 5/3)

It was an important aspect of the job for Di:

"I refuse point-blank to be anybody other than who I am with the children and that's that. I'm not going to change and I think that's the key to my survival at the moment." (Di, 6/41)

Passion for her subject and for teaching also allowed her to be emotionally authentic in the classroom:

"It's not possible to teach without passion, to teach well without passion, and you can't have the passion without the emotion, so you're creating...If you start to interfere with that you're on a no-win aren't you?" (Di, 5/43)

This was echoed by Ellie:

"So as far as the learning is concerned, I'm not saying you get a better learning experience, but you just get a better human experience." (Ellie, 7/25)

And by Becky:

"I do really value what I do and I do love my job you know...I do accept that I'm privileged to work with young people and I do enjoy doing it." (Becky, 18/26)

3b. Workload issues.

For all the participants workload was an issue, particularly in terms of administrative tasks and how the expectation to prioritise them impacted in the classroom. Di spoke about this in terms of planning lessons:

“...it’s so ironic because it impacts on the time you get to spend actually preparing lessons in terms of making resources.” (Di, 13/41)

The impact for Alison was on time-management in the classroom:

“You cannot monitor everything. You’ve got an hour to teach one thing and you’re supposed to be checking whether everyone’s got everything, whether this person’s turned up, whether you’ve filled in...whatever equipment they’ve got...” (Alison, 12/9)

Ellie took an analytical approach to an extra admin task required of her:

“I worked out that if I did that for every book it would add three hours a year onto my marking time. Now to them that’s just three seconds a book, but you’ve got to cost time out. You can’t keep adding up because time doesn’t expand.” (Ellie, 17/19)

Such tasks prohibited her from focusing on her pupils as individuals:

“I find that I end up compartmentalising children into three different groups and writing three different reports because it’s the only way you can get through the amount of stuff you’ve got to do.” (Ellie, 17/9)

3c. ‘Them and us’.

One of the universally accepted truths about school is that the teachers make the rules and the children obey them. The participants’ experience here is that the senior management make the rules and the other staff obey them. For Alison this was evident in meetings:

“You’re not allowed to say things like that!” (Alison, 2/41)

This was similar for Becky in the way she conducted herself in the classroom:

“You’re not allowed to shout, that’s not very good for the whole school and you’re also not allowed to use sarcasm.” (Becky, 1/41)

Di felt that the focus on admin tasks to ensure that people were doing their jobs properly was excessive:

“...so you’ve got to say when you’re going to do your marking, and your mark book’s got to correspond...you’ve got to do it in the same colour pens so you can’t cheat.” (Di, 14/11)

Ellie spoke of the consequences of choosing not to complete certain tasks:

“So we make compromises and some of those compromises are you get told off if you don’t put the date.” (Ellie, 17/46)

For all five participants there was a strong recognition of teaching as a hugely emotional job. The emotional demands appeared to have two main strands: managing emotion with decision makers in the school and managing emotion in the classroom. The focus on performance measures aroused a sense of frustration not only for the participants themselves, but also on behalf of their pupils who they felt suffered as a result of such overwhelmingly unrealistic expectations. There was also an indication of the participants’ autonomy being gradually eroded as they succumbed to new methods of pedagogic control. The sadness in this was not for the increased demands on their time, but for the loss of their voice in something they clearly felt passionate about.

These findings reflect similar research in this area in that feelings of personal accomplishment for all five participants were felt to have been eroded by the demands of managing the profound emotion involved in the job of teaching. Overall

there was a sense of the struggle experienced by the participants with the political machine of secondary education.

Chapter 5

Discussion

The assertion that teaching is an intensely emotional activity is clear from the literature relevant to this study and is emphasised by the findings. All five participants acknowledged the importance of emotion in their profession and agreed that there were both advantages and disadvantages to this. The participants experienced differing degrees of emotional labour, but tended to echo Hochschild's (1983) assertion that there was both 'surface acting' and 'deep acting' involved in their day to day experiences of emotional labour. The findings also indicated that overall the participants had a degree of 'emotional regulation ability' (Brackett et al., 2010) which assisted them in employing strategies to help deal with unwanted or difficult emotions.

The findings appeared to echo Kyriacou's (2001) definition of the stress associated with teaching, i.e. *"the experience by a teacher of unpleasant negative emotions such as anger, anxiety, tension, frustration or depression, resulting from some aspect of their work as a teacher"* (p.28) in that all participants found many aspects of the emotional work of teaching difficult to deal with. However, determining whether participants were suffering from stress goes beyond the remit of this study.

For all the participants the view of teaching as a demanding job was evident, and the findings echoed much existing research work in this area. There were three principal themes which emerged from the participants' data, and nine sub-themes which reflected convergent experiences for all or most participants. In fact the language, other than the usual terminology associated with the profession, used by each participant was strikingly similar despite the fact that they did not know each other or

work in the same schools. This chapter will demonstrate how the participants' themes converge with the existing literature and also give some evidence of the divergence of some thematic perceptions, thus giving some focus to the uniqueness of individual experiencing.

Hargreaves (1998) indicates the importance of creativity for teachers which suggests that recognising the individuality of teachers has an important role to play. Carlyle and Woods (2002) emphasise the importance for teachers of a strong and well-founded sense of personal identity. Therefore, the increasing expectation upon teachers to conform in a myriad of new ways had a deep impact on the participants and thus became a super-ordinate theme. In this respect the erosion of individuality evident in the transcripts carries with it a profound sense of loss. The example cited by Di, that there was an initiative for lessons across the curriculum to follow a prescribed structure, invariably results in a reduction of opportunities for creativity in the classroom. The use of the word 'robot' by four of the participants emphasises the expectation on them to conform to an imposed prototype. If, as Carlyle and Woods (2002) suggest, that a strong sense of identity heightens teachers' confidence, the consequences of such extensive conformity inevitably have a negative impact on the teacher.

Despite many research articles pointing to the inherently emotional nature of teaching (van Manen 1985, Woods and Jeffrey 1996, Brackett et al. 2010), each of the participants felt that the expectation from their superiors was that they had to behave in an unemotional and prescribed manner. Di, therefore, in an attempt to manage the expectation that she will be unemotional, has tried to become robot-like herself as a coping strategy (Di, 10/1). Hargreaves (1998) goes as far as saying that,

"It is exceptionally important to honour and acknowledge the emotions of teaching...and to cultivate their active development" (p.316). It therefore appears that there is a dissonance for the participants as they experience teaching as an emotional activity, yet attempt to conform to the expectation that they will be unemotional.

Since one of the effects of excessive or unsatisfying emotional labour can be burn-out (Brackett et al., 2010) it is interesting to note that one of the components of this is depersonalisation (Hochschild, 1983, Greenglass et al., 1997). For Hochschild (1983) depersonalisation relates to the workers' views of their clients and tends to result in negative attitudes towards them. However, here the findings indicate that the participants' emotional labour associated with the erosion of individuality resulted in a sense of depersonalisation for themselves. As Chloe stated, when referring to her senior managers, *"they're not seeing you as a person"* (Chloe, 12/39).

The fear of not conforming was strongly evident from each of the five participants, hence it becoming a sub-theme. There was a sense that a climate of fear pervaded each person's daily life to the extent that they were worried about capability procedures being taken against them. By *"toeing the party line"* (Alison, 5/46) the risk of being seen as a failing or inadequate teacher would be reduced. This reflects Hebson et al.'s (2007) assertion that capability procedures are viewed with *"fear and loathing"* (p.692) and need to be managed better if the aim is that teachers are to become more effective. Carlyle and Woods' (2002) research found that some schools actually fostered a culture of fear among staff (p.27). Kyriacou (2001) makes the case for feedback to teachers on performance being carried out in a supportive manner in order to reduce teacher stress (p.33).

As a person-centred counsellor the importance of the voice is something which is significant for me, thus the sub-ordinate theme which concerns the participants' feeling of being silenced particularly resonated. Since so much of teaching is fundamentally to do with communication it is interesting that the teachers here feel that they are silenced. The participants described experiences of being ignored, not listened to and being excluded from decision-making in emotive terms. This ties in with Jeffrey and Woods' (1996) findings that describe the effect of inarticulateness as a contributor to feelings of being deprofessionalised. They refer to the "*burning need*" to express oneself (p.325). Kyriacou (2001) and Klassen (2010) describe effective communication between managers and staff, and between staff, as a means of avoiding stress and increasing job satisfaction.

Another resonant theme which emerged from the transcripts was the huge focus on outcome measures and how it affected the daily lives of the participants. Schools' adoption of a national curriculum, league tables and target-setting has had an enormous impact on teachers, and Duffield et al. describe this 'standards agenda' as an "*obsession*" (Duffield et al., 2000), as does Fielding (2001). Schools' use of data on pupil performance as an indicator of success has meant that for the participants in this study the pressure to deliver is so intense that it is overwhelming. For them the emotional labour involved in making pupils focus on the importance of levels and grades is a source of intense frustration and anger. This is clear in Ellie's plaintive response to the excessive focus on data, "*yes, but this is a **person!***" (Ellie, 3/36.) In addition, the requirement for continuous improvement as evidence of meeting these targets was also a source of negative emotional labour as it was viewed by the participants as unrealistic, yet the expectation was that it would be implemented without question. Research demonstrates that there is a link between student

underachievement and teacher burn-out (Pas et al., 2012). If targets set by schools are unrealistic it is logical to assume that there will be a vast array of pupils failing to reach their predicted grade or level, thereby reinforcing the idea that teachers are ineffective.

Linked to the sub-theme of targets and continuous improvement is that of providing evidence for achievement, and the blame culture which exists if the targets to improve are not reached. The spectre of Ofsted was raised for the participants in discussing how evidence for performance was gathered. Since there were no direct questions regarding this in the interviews it was telling that the participants viewed it as a highly emotional aspect of their work. The effect of Ofsted inspections on teachers is illustrated in an article by Jeffrey and Woods (1996) who describe devastating feelings such as *“mortification”* and *“dehumanisation”* as part and parcel of the *“loss of self”* inherent in the process. Ofsted’s own vagueness with statements such as, *“How frequently a school is inspected depends on how well it did at its last inspection”* (Ofsted, 2014) does nothing to eliminate the anxiety described by Jeffrey and Woods (1996) or to mitigate the sense of deprofessionalisation. The participants here even went as far as using Ofsted’s own terminology: *“inadequate”* (Di, 1/20), *“outstanding”* (Ellie, 11/40) *“weak”* (Chloe, 1/24) so embedded is the notion of being *“Ofsted-standardly brilliant”* (Di, 7/43) in teachers’ day-to-day work.

The blame culture which surrounds perceptions of Ofsted is reinforced by the fact that an inspection is deemed to be something which has to be passed (Perryman, 2007), thus likening it to a test or exam. Therefore, the participants’ feeling of being threatened by the process ties in with the research on this topic. Perryman goes as far as describing inspections as *“aversive and noxious”* (p.174). The fact that there is

no sense of collaboration leaves teachers feeling disciplined and controlled (Perryman, 2007). Since the consequences of 'failing' an inspection can include increased monitoring, schools being put into 'special measures' or even closing, and staff losing their jobs the result is that a blame culture thrives. Perryman's (2007) research focuses on a secondary school as it prepares for an inspection, and she describes the sense of being permanently under a controlled regime. This was echoed by several participants in this study who feel under pressure to deliver outstanding lessons all of the time, particularly since schools may be made to undergo further, more frequent and/or impromptu inspections if they fail (Perryman, 2007). This environment of "*relentless surveillance*" (Perryman, 2007, p.174) is a feature of the daily lives of teachers, as Chloe stated, "*just in case' Ofsted come in.*" (Chloe, 20/43). The emotional labour involved in this type of regime is high, particularly as staff already under pressure are expected to be in 'performance mode' (Perryman, 2007), delivering outstanding lessons and talking in positive terms about the school. It is this 'surface acting' aspect of emotional labour which has the most adverse effect on employees (Hochschild, 1983, Morris and Feldman, 1996). What is also striking about the findings here is the 'mixed messages' about Ofsted the participants appear to be receiving from their senior managers. It is possible that senior managers who are not exempt from criticism themselves by Ofsted use the threat of inspection as a means of controlling teachers. This view is reinforced by Jeffrey and Woods (1996) and Perryman (2007).

Closely aligned with the notion of a blame culture is the third sub-theme in this section which deals with the concept of collusion. For the participants there appeared to be some acceptance of a degree of collusion in teaching, particularly when it involved maintaining classroom discipline and good relationships with pupils.

Although playing a role, participants felt that this was an important part of their work. Even though they did not agree with certain school policies, for example, the strictness of the school uniform, they would nevertheless accept that this was part of the general expectation surrounding their role as teacher. This ties in with research in this area which shows that this type of emotional labour is positive and can actually result in job satisfaction (Brackett et al., 2010).

Where collusion became problematic was when participants felt under pressure to enforce what Perryman (2007) describes as “*performative*” (p.173) policies which they saw as potentially damaging to children, or which could not be realistically achieved. Nias (1996) also points to an over-politicised environment which reflects the problematic nature of the experience of collusion in the participants here. There was a strong sense from the data that education was a political football and teachers and pupils were the means used by school managers and policy-makers in order to achieve political gain. For the participants, having to engage in this type of emotional labour resulted in feelings of exasperation and anger.

Many researchers acknowledge the caring role of teaching, for example, Fried (1995), Forrester (2005), Isenbarger and Zembylas (2006) and Hebson et al. (2007). This was something which was strongly reflected in the data in this study and emphasises both the positive and negative aspects of emotional labour (Hochschild, 1983). Hargreaves (1998) describes the emotional labour of teaching as a “*labor of love*” (p.840). The real passion the participants felt for the actual job of teaching and their personal investment in the pupils was evident, hence the third super-ordinate theme of the impact of emotional labour in the classroom.

It was evident that the participants were passionate about several aspects of their job, particularly in the emotional connections they made with pupils, thus echoing Fried (1995) and Hargreaves (1998). In this respect the emotional labour involved in interactions with pupils had largely positive effects. The sub-theme of authentic versus inauthentic emotion is significant because interactions with pupils both in and out of the classroom appeared to be the area where the participants experienced the least stressful aspects of their job. Two participants (Becky and Ellie) discussed the challenges of dealing with difficult pupils and described how they modified their emotions in order to deal effectively with these incidences. Their engagement in 'deep acting' (Hochschild, 1983) resulted in a productive classroom environment and contributed to their sense of forging positive relationships with pupils. The other participants felt that they were 'real' when they were in the classroom, and that this led them to form meaningful and satisfying authentic relationships with pupils. However, it is possible that these participants were so practised in maintaining a positive classroom environment that they were unaware on a conscious level of the strategies they employed in order to achieve this.

The second sub-theme of workload was a source of frustration for participants. Greenglass et al. (1997), Kyriacou (2001) and Chan (2006) describe this as a source of negative emotion for teachers which can lead to stress. Interestingly, the frustration felt by the participants here did not relate to the usual workload tasks associated with teaching such as marking and preparation, but to what were viewed as "*pointless*" tasks (Becky, 5/17). For the participants this type of task was usually associated with time-consuming and excessively bureaucratic exercises used for monitoring staff. This type of rigid control not only led to feelings that staff were not to be trusted, something which is echoed by Troman (2000), but more significantly,

impinged on the time available which could be used for lesson preparation, thus impacting on what teachers were trying to achieve in the classroom. Time for preparation of resources was something which several participants felt was being eroded and this proved difficult, particularly for Di who prided herself on producing quality resources for her pupils. This is similar to the *“industry speed-up”* described by Hochschild (1983, p.121) whereby employees are given less time to accomplish the same number of tasks. For teachers it manifests itself as the increased number of tasks being accumulated without the old ones being superseded. Thus, Chan’s (2006) assertion that a high level of workload does not necessarily lead to burnout appears to bear out the findings here which demonstrate that the type of workload task is significant in teachers’ feeling of being overburdened.

Travers and Cooper (1996) indicate the loss of autonomy as a major source of pressure for teachers, particularly since traditionally the teaching role has involved a large degree of self-governance (p.58). The third sub-theme in this section is termed ‘them and us’ because it twists the accepted notion of this as applying to the traditional roles of teachers and pupils. The language used by the participants in this study is interesting, particularly the use of phrases such as, *“you’re not allowed”* (Becky, 1/41, Alison, 2/41) and *“you get told off”* (Ellie, 17/46, Chloe, 20/44) because it sounded as though the teachers were being treated like pupils. This suggests a power imbalance and an authoritarian climate, something which Natiello (2001) cautions against. She argues that collaborative power is the most effective means by which workplaces need to operate in order to be most effective (p.84). Fielding (2001) uses the term *“reciprocal responsibility”* (p.696) to describe a more fitting model of shared decision-making.

Thus, the climate in schools appears to be one of a 'them and us' culture with managers and policy-makers on one side and teachers on the other. Control and discipline, two of the most important features of an effective classroom teacher appear to be being used as a punitive mechanism against teachers themselves. The feeling of powerlessness experienced by the participants is reflected by Perryman (2007) in her description of a regime of control which underpins many of the aspects of teaching which were once under the aegis of ordinary classroom teachers.

The super-ordinate themes presented here demonstrate the convergence of the participants' experiences, yet given the vastness of emotion as a concept (Hargreaves, 1998) and the uniqueness of the individual's experiencing of it (Perryman, 2007) there are some elements of the findings exclusive to each participant which merit further discussion. For Di who appeared extremely confident and competent, it was surprising for me to hear the extent to which she hid her real self from her colleagues and managers, so profound was her fear of capability procedures which she had seen other competent teachers undergo. Becky, the most experienced of the participants acknowledged that over time she had become less tolerant of some types of behaviour in her pupils and felt herself becoming less sympathetic towards them. Her experience mirrors Brackett et al.'s (2010) depiction of this as a symptom of burnout. Ellie described the effect of modifying emotion as having a positive impact on her as a teacher and viewed it as a profound and valuable learning experience for herself. She felt that it had given her an insight into and understanding of teenagers generally, and helped in her sports coaching which she did in her spare time. Chloe was the only participant to mention the need for workplace emotional support which echoes findings by Kinman et al. (2011). However, her view differed from the research in that she felt that formalised support

in the form of counselling rather than peer support would be more useful. A theme for Alison was humour. The lack of humour among her colleagues and in school generally seemed like a loss for her, and the pathos of this struck me all the more when she described her own experiences, some of them extremely stressful, in a very witty and engaging way.

Chapter 6

Conclusion

This research has aimed to explore the way in which secondary school teachers experience emotional labour and how this impacts on them. The study has been small-scale and qualitative in nature, with a focus on the uniqueness and detail of the individuals' experiencing, and allowing for the "*creative process*" (Smith et al., 2009, p.184) of the interpretative approach.

The findings reflect much of the current research in the area of emotional labour, in that there were both positive and negative experiences of it (Morris and Feldman, 1996, Isenbarger and Zembylas, 2006). Positive experiences tended to occur in the classroom, whilst interactions elsewhere appeared to produce the most negative experiences. There was no doubt for the participants that teaching was a highly emotional profession (Hargreaves, 1998, Nias, 1996), and that teaching was very demanding emotionally (Connor, 2008, Kinman et al., 2011). The participants also found some aspects of teaching stressful (Kyriacou and Sutcliffe, 1977, Carlyle and Woods, 2002), particularly in regard to educational reform and the focus on the standards agenda (Hargreaves, 1998, Forrester, 2005). Some of the participants' experiences appeared to demonstrate some of the components of burn-out, which is indicated in the literature as one of the effects of sustained emotional labour (Brackett et al., 2010, Kinman et al., 2011). Although not specifically discussed in this study, the participants also referred to negative perceptions of their profession by society at large, and in a climate of increased accountability this underpinned many of their anxieties, for example, not wishing to be seen as complaining, conforming for fear of the consequences and coping with an excessive workload.

Implications for practice

Research by Greenglass et al., (1997), Kinman et al. (2011) and Tatar (2009) highlights the fact that workplace social support can reduce the negative impact of emotional labour, thereby lessening the likelihood of burn-out and/or emotional exhaustion. Humphreys (1993), Travers and Cooper (1996) and Carlyle and Woods (2002) go further and recommend confidential counselling for teachers. Whilst there has been a significant focus in recent years on the need for school counselling services to exist for pupils, (Department for Children, Education, Lifelong Learning and Skills, 2008), no such intervention exists for teachers. As Lawrence (1999) states, *“it is time now to accept that teachers also have needs”* (p.xi). For counsellors of teachers an understanding of the emotional demands and pressures faced by educators today would be of benefit in devising strategies to support such clients.

Suggestions for further research

The limitations for this small-scale study include those of time and size. The inexperience of the researcher is also a factor. Since the participants were all female, examination of the issues from the perspective of male teachers would be beneficial. As there is very little qualitative research on the subject of emotional labour specifically in teaching, this is an area which would benefit from further study. It is evident from the literature that teachers' well-being is potentially at risk from negative experiences of emotional labour, therefore further research on the role of workplace support and the provision of interventions such as confidential counselling services would be of benefit.

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APPENDICES

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Appendix 1

Research Strategies		
Key Words	Boolean Operators	Truncations
Teachers	'AND'	Teach*
Teaching	'OR'	
Schools		
Emotions		Emotion*
Emotional		
Pressure		
Stress		
Counselling		Counsel*
Counsellor		
Cope		
Coping		
Databases		Websites
PsycARTICLES		Google Scholar
PsycINFO		BACP
Science Direct		bbc.co.uk
Education Source		nasuwt.org.uk
		teachers.org.uk
		gov.uk
Libraries		
Chester University		

Appendix 2a

Advert placed with NASUWT Union Representatives



University of
Chester



STRESSED OUT TEACHER?

COULD YOU HELP WITH RESEARCH?

What would it involve?

An hour-long discussion of your views and experiences relating to teacher stress and well-being.

This would take place at Chester University, or a location of your choice.

Your anonymity will be preserved.



About me AND THE RESEARCH

My name is Eileen Doyle and I am a postgraduate student in Counselling at Chester University.

I am doing a small-scale research project into teachers' well-being.

I need participants to help with my research.

I'm looking for qualified secondary school teachers.

If you think you would like to help, or for more information contact me at:

Appendix 2b

Advert placed on BACP Research Notice board on 03/07/14:

Having worked as a secondary school teacher for 20 years I am aware that it is emotionally a very demanding job.

Now that I have left to do an MA in counselling I would like to explore the emotional impact of teaching, and see how teachers are affected by the demands the job places on them.

I am hoping to recruit participants who are qualified teachers with current or recent experience, so if you have left teaching you may still be able to take part.

If you think you would like to take part in this research then I'd really like to hear from you.

Eileen Doyle
email:

Appendix 2c

Advert placed on Times Educational Supplement Website forum on 07/07/14:

The Emotional Impact of Teaching: Could You Help with Research?

Hello everyone

I am an ex-secondary school teacher doing an MA in Counselling. For my research project I am looking at the impact of the emotional demands of teaching on teachers' well-being.

Teaching is definitely one of the most emotionally demanding jobs in my opinion, so if you agree I would love to hear from you.

If you would like to participate in my research you need to be a qualified teacher with current or recent experience in a secondary school, and within reach of Chester University.

Taking part would involve an hour-long discussion with me about your views and experiences. It is totally anonymous and confidential.

If you have read this far and are still interested please contact me!

My name is Eileen and my email address is: Or you can leave your email address on this forum for me to contact you.

If you do contact me I will send you some further information. Contacting me does not in any way oblige you to take part.

It is only a small-scale project, but I hope it will be a little step towards making things better for teachers

Appendix 3



Interview Schedule for Participants

An exploration of the impact of emotional labour on secondary school teachers in the UK: Interview questions for participants

Introduction: Thank you for coming – I would like us to spend the next hour exploring your experience of the emotional impact of teaching– there are no right or wrong answers and I am happy to allow the interview to develop to get the best understanding of how it is for you. Remember it is confidential and you will be anonymous in the study.

(Ensure consent form is signed)

Do you have any questions about the process before we start?

Questions

1. In what way is teaching an emotionally demanding job?
2. How often do you have to suppress authentic emotion? (Hide how you are really feeling)
3. How important do you feel this is to you? Do you see this as an important part of your job?
4. What are the expectations from your school on your display of emotion?
5. What are the positive feelings associated with suppressing your true emotions?
6. What is the negative impact?
7. What coping mechanisms do you use to deal with the suppression of your emotions?
8. What support is available to you?
9. How did your training prepare you for this aspect of teaching?
10. Is there anything more you would like to add?

Closing: Thank you for coming and participating in this research. What will happen now is that I will listen to our recording and transcribe the whole session. I will send you a copy of the transcript so that you can check it is accurate. After that I will analyse it, but your anonymity will be protected.

Appendix 4



University of Chester
M. A. in Clinical Counselling Research
University of Chester

Consent Form: Audio/Digital Recording of Interview

Title of Study: An Exploration of the Impact of Emotional Labour on Secondary School Teachers in the UK

Ihereby give consent for the details of a written transcript based on an audio/digital recorded interview with me and Eileen Doyle to be used in preparation and as part of a research dissertation for the M.A. in Clinical Counselling at the University of Chester. I understand that my identity will remain anonymous and that all personally identifiable information will remain confidential and separate from the research data. I further understand that the transcript may be seen by Counselling Tutors and the External Examiner for the purpose of assessment and moderation. I also understand that all these individuals are bound by the British Association for Counselling and Psychotherapy Ethical Framework for Good Practice in Counselling and Psychotherapy.

I understand that I will have access to the transcribed material and would be able to delete or amend any part of it. I am aware that I can stop the interview at any time or ultimately withdraw the interview, without giving a reason or explanation, at any point before the submission of the dissertation. Upon satisfactory completion of the M.A. in Clinical Counselling the recording will be securely destroyed. The transcripts and related data will be securely stored for a period of five years, by me, the researcher, and then destroyed.

Excerpts from the transcript will be included in the dissertation. A copy of the dissertation will be held in the Department of Social Studies and Counselling and may be made available electronically through Chester Rep, the University's online research repository.

Without my further consent some of the material may be used for publication and/or presentations at conferences and seminars. Every effort will be made to ensure complete anonymity.

Finally I confirm I have read and understood the attached Information Sheet and was given the opportunity for further explanation by the researcher. I believe I have been given sufficient information about the nature of this research, including any possible risks, to give my informed consent to participate.

Signed [Participant].....Date.....

Signed [Researcher].....Date.....

Appendix 5

Research Information Sheet

Title of dissertation: An exploration of the impact of emotional labour on secondary school teachers in the UK.

About me: I am a third year post graduate student at Chester University studying for an MA in Clinical Counselling. I am an ex-secondary school teacher with 21 years experience in full-time teaching in the state sector in the north-west of England.

My research: The concept of emotional labour is described in several journal articles relating to occupational stress. Since teaching is recognised as an emotional and emotionally demanding occupation it follows that the additional expectation on teachers to model appropriate emotions means that the emotional labour involved in teaching is markedly more demanding than in other occupations. Strong links between emotional labour and emotional exhaustion are widely recognised thus indicating that teachers' well-being is at risk if the impact of emotional labour is significant. My interest in the effect of emotional labour on teachers stems from my experience during twenty years of secondary school teaching where little or no recognition of the impact of emotional labour existed either in training or in post.

Participation Selection Criteria

Participants who are UK secondary school teachers with current or recent (within the past 5 years) experience. Number of years' experience, subjects taught and type of school are immaterial for the purposes of this study.

What does participating in this research mean? If you choose to put yourself forward to participate and you meet the inclusion criteria your involvement will be an hour long audio-recorded interview which will offer the opportunity to explore your experience. The interview will be held at a mutually convenient, safe and confidential location. After the interview, I will transcribe the audio-recording and this will become my data. Your data will be analysed using interpretative phenomenological analysis methods and will then be compared to the data from other participants to identify themes. Once the analysis is complete you may wish to see the results to ensure that they are a true account of your experience.

What are the potential risks? There is a risk that exploring this sensitive topic may bring up unexpected painful feelings for you. Knowing that this may be the case information will be provided as to how to access the list of BACP registered counsellors, the Teacher Support Network or the appropriate teaching union official should support be needed.

Confidentiality Throughout the research and writing up of my dissertation I will ensure that your anonymity is protected by allocating a pseudonym to all information relating to your involvement in the project. Any information which may identify you or any of the people you may mention will not be included in the project. Any parts of the interview which may identify you will not be used in the research. With your consent, verbatim sections of the interview may be used in the final dissertation.

Right to Withdraw

Prior to recruitment of participants, an information sheet will be provided which will include details about withdrawing from the research, should participants wish to do so. Participants will be assured that they may withdraw without obligation or penalty.

Concerns/Complaints

Should there be any complaints or adverse events, these will be discussed immediately to minimise harm to anyone involved in the project. Formal complaints about the research may be made to the Dean of the Faculty of Social Sciences. In the first instance complaints may be directed to Dr Valda Swinton who is the supervisor for the study (v.swinton@chester.ac.uk).

Benefits of the research: It is widely accepted that teaching is one of the most stressful professions. Although there is a recognition amongst the general population that teaching is a stressful occupation the accepted view, largely because of several high-profile cases, is that this relates to disruptive behaviour in the classroom. Studies have shown however that teachers' experiences of stress can also relate to other factors such as preparation workload, large class sizes, administrative requirements and time pressures. In addition, there is a high emotional demand placed on teachers which is intensified by the requirement not only to safeguard the emotional well-being of pupils, but to successfully model appropriate emotions at all times. Yet, little is known about how the emotional labour in the teaching role may impact on the well-being of teachers. It is hoped that this research project will offer insights to teachers themselves, counsellors of teachers, teacher trainers and teacher managers as to the effect of emotional labour and be an exploratory step towards further research in this field.

What will happen to the results: The results of my research will form part of my MA dissertation which will be submitted to Chester University who will keep a copy. Depending upon the mark obtained, the dissertation may be available electronically through the University's online database. The results may also form part of other works which are put forward for publication.

Data Protection: Data will consist of the audio recordings and transcriptions of interviews with research participants. The interviews will be recorded onto a digital recorder which will be kept securely when not in use. Recordings will be transferred to a PC and files will be password protected. Files will be saved under a pseudonym so that individuals may not be recognised from the file name. These pseudonyms will be used throughout the research to protect the participants' anonymity. A back up copy of the files will be held on a pen drive which will be kept in a locked drawer.

Ethics: It is intended that research will be conducted in line with the BACP Code of Practice and Ethical Guidelines and the University's Research Governance Handbook in order to protect participants from harm and loss and to enhance the trustworthiness of this study. The proposal for this research has been submitted to the University's Ethics Committee and approval has been gained for this project to be undertaken. Since ethical issues are not necessarily resolved in the planning stages and need to be kept in focus throughout, it is intended that close work with a supervisor will ensure that ethical issues will be considered throughout the duration of the project.

Contact details

Eileen Doyle:
email:

Appendix 6
Biographical Information of Participants

Participant	Approximate Age	Current or Recent Experience	Number of Years Taught
Alison	over 50	current	more than 25
Becky	over 50	current	more than 25
Chloe	40-50	current	more than 20
Di	40-50	current	more than 10
Ellie	30-40	current	less than 10

Appendix 7

Example of initial note-taking

Transcript: Participant 4, Di

	I	And you talked about survival there, so for you it feels like it's surviving?	
<p>Survival</p> <p>Fear of being made to look incompetent.</p> <p>A threatening climate</p> <p>Politics</p> <p>Emotional labour</p> <p>A climate of fear.</p>	P	<p>Absolutely. Yeah, that's definitely...definitely survival, and I think there is a constant pressure in schools, whether it's perceived or real, I don't think it matters, because if you perceive it it's very real to you [yeah] I think there is a constant threat of, erm, being held to account. Competency, [yeah] there's a constant erm, use of politics to make you feel inadequate. Erm, in spite of the fact that you have full evidence that you're not inadequate, you know you're not inadequate [Mm] and I think that's a threat that I've been lucky to so far personally dodge, but I've seen it happen to other people, and it does create a climate of fear, which again is emotionally demanding to live with, and it does feel like survival a lot of the time [Mm]. It quite often feels like survival year to year on results. [Yeah, right ok.] You know you see eyes rolling and you have to see the senior managers if someone doesn't get the results, and [yeah] they're usually not there the year after, which does kind of make it feel a bit threatening (laughs)</p>	<p>She is under constant pressure</p> <p>She feels it's about survival</p> <p>Being held to account.</p> <p>It's as if she is reassuring herself?</p> <p>The threat of competency procedures</p> <p>Survival</p> <p>There is a climate of fear. Anyone can be a victim</p> <p>Laughter – but it's not funny.</p>
	I	Yes, that's really...no wonder there's a fear.	
<p>The emotional labour of being caught in the middle.</p> <p>The responsibility she feels for her department staff puts her under</p>	P	<p>Yeah, the pressure from the top just gets pushed down and down and down and down. When you're in the middle like I am, it's kind of like...bit difficult because you've got it coming up from the bottom and people saying, 'this is unreasonable, why doesn't somebody do something?' then you've got it from the top saying, 'get your team to do that' [yeah] and it can be, it can be really difficult sometimes because you've got loyalties on both sides, but you sympathise perhaps more with the one that's saying, 'I just can't cope with this'</p>	<p>Being in middle management means pressure from above and below.</p> <p>She sounds angry</p> <p>She feels a responsibility to her staff when they feel they are not coping.</p>

added pressure.		[Mm] because that to me is dangerous to the person, and for you as...for me as an individual it's dangerous to be under that much pressure. [Yeah.] Emotionally dangerous, physically dangerous. It's bad for health [right] and it certainly doesn't get the best results.	It's emotionally dangerous. Impact on her health
	I	You feel it doesn't get the best results - in what way?	
The importance of caring in teaching Passion in teaching	P	In terms of what you get out of a person. I think that, erm, because the survival strategy...I am saying survival again! <i>(both laugh)</i> The survival strategy I think the majority of people take who survive teaching... Crikey, stop saying survival! <i>(both laugh)</i> is to try to switch off that emotional...Either they don't have it in the first place, erm, or they somehow reach a compromise with themselves and switch it off [Mm] erm, and when you do that you're not giving the passion, you're not giving the erm... You can't do the job without caring about what you're doing.	It is possible for people to switch off from the emotion of teaching, but then you can't do the job properly if you don't care. The passion for the job.
	I	I was going to say, it sounds like you stop caring when you do that.	
Commitment to the job is important. (Emotional commitment?) Anger Being pushed to breaking point.	P	Yes, and when you stop caring that's when commitment becomes questionable, even though caring too much is not necessarily a good thing. I think a lot of teachers I know who have been teaching a long time and have survived it, actually couldn't give two 'oots when you talk to them. (Right) And erm, sorry two hoots (!) <i>(both laugh)</i> . They're not interested particularly, and you know, you can ask them about, oh I was concerned a bout such a body (inaudible) and whether that's a defence against, you know, for their own survival [yeah] I don't know. But erm, I think what you end up achieving when you put people under that amount of pressure constantly, especially when they're people who are passionate anyway and fully committed and really do hold the job, or the career or the vocation in very high regard in terms of importance in their lives, and then you put more and more pressure on that, it kind of can't survive because you chip, chip, chip away and if you're somebody who cares about what you're doing and you're constantly being	If you don't care passionately you're not committed enough. She sounds sad here? People who are already passionate and committed will reach breaking point if too much pressure is applied. She sounds so angry. Being told you're not

		told it's not good enough [Mm] there's a breaking point. [Mm] And you either go one way or... you sit down and you think, 'well stuff it, I'll just carry on for as long as I can [Mm] and see what happens'...I'm not articulating very well what I mean...	good enough - She sounds like a pupil?
--	--	--	--

Key:

Green: My initial feeling that this was significant information.

Blue: Describing the content of what the participant said (descriptive).

Orange: The specific use of language by the participant (linguistic).

Red: emerging themes.

Purple: Interpretation of tone/feeling (conceptual).

Appendix 8

Emergent Themes for Participants

Emergent Themes for Participant 1: Alison

Alison was a mainstream secondary school teacher with over 20 years' teaching experience. Although she recognised the importance of suppressing authentic emotion for certain situations she was frustrated by the fact there seemed to be no place for a sense of humour. This was emphasised by her witty descriptions of her frustration at not being able to be real with colleagues and managers.

Separation between her real self and her classroom self	Feeling undervalued by society
Enforced collusion	Inability to be an individual
Encouraged to be robot-like	The wish to be more valued by her superiors
No flaws allowed	Dislike of wasting time on unnecessary bureaucratic tasks
Impact on home life	Not being able to be honest about taking shortcuts
Not enough time in the day	The need to feel acknowledged
Treated like a naughty child	Seeing the overall value for decisions
School not a 'normal' environment	Not wanting to be seen as negative/disagreeing/a troublemaker
'You're not allowed...'	Fear of being shot down if opinions voiced
Having to pretend to be concerned	Anger at universal collusion
Fear of the consequences of not colluding	Feeling silenced
Having to treat minor issues seriously	Fear of losing job
No sense of humour permitted	A troublemaker – what that means
Having to be seen as having the correct persona	Fear of consequences of disagreeing
An expectation of herself	Resentment at unnecessary workload increases
The strain of being inauthentic	Feeling of being unappreciated
Important not to be seen as a rebel	Not feeling valued for the work that is done
Having to toe the party line - fear	The positives of being authentic with pupils
The positive effects of suppressing emotion	The degree of detachment needed
The importance of having some objectivity	The strain of finding the job difficult
The importance of being able to switch off mentally at home	The fact that it could be made easier
The difficulty of switching off	Feeling of aloneness in having to devise coping strategies

Playing the game

Lack of trust in colleagues

The pressure of maintaining the persona out of school

Feeling that she cannot be honest, even with colleagues

Having to hide her true feelings - awkwardness

Feeling that school is unnecessarily removed from reality

Feeling unprepared even after training

The lack of information during training

The strain of not being able to shed the persona leading to burnout

Emergent Themes for Participant 2: Becky

Becky was also a mainstream secondary school teacher with over 20 years' teaching experience and nearing the end of her career. She expressed a passion for the job which had stayed with her throughout her career, but an increasing exasperation at a system which values teachers so poorly.

Teaching as acting a part	Gaining affirmation from pupils
View of it as demanding and pressurised	The positives of emotional labour
The demands of having to suppress authentic emotion	Frustration at the political nature of education
The school as dictating how she acts	Sense of injustice at the focus on academia
The classroom as something to survive	Frustration at the measures of success used
Dealing with challenging pupils	The importance of an all-round education
The expectation to be a good role model	Wanting to feel valued by her superiors
The consequences of not behaving in a particular way.	Lack of recognition in society for teachers
How she is perceived by others	Feeling valued by peers – a poor second
The toll of emotional labour on physical health	The importance of support for teachers
The increase in difficulty of managing emotion over time	The stress of dealing with large numbers of people
The stress of teaching as a profession	The inevitability of a certain amount of stress
The contribution of Ofsted to the sense of disenchantment	The treatment of education as a business by politicians
The unnecessary pressure of inspections	Frustration at the way target-setting is used
Anger at the system	The pointlessness of bureaucratic tasks
The focus on 'outstanding'	Powerlessness in the face of change
The importance of coping mechanisms	The unrealistic expectation of continuous improvement
Workload stress	Having to collude in the system
The need for emotional support within schools	Not having a voice – being silenced
Feeling of isolation in coping alone	The voice of reason going unheard
Feeling unprepared for the emotional demands	Coming to terms with new definitions for success in education
The expectation to conform to a robot-like, unemotional persona	Concern about the impact on pupils
Experience not viewed as an asset	Feeling of being let down by new initiatives

The importance of forging good relationships with pupils

Anger at the system which rewards administrators

The importance of own view that teaching is an important job

Feeling misunderstood about where the pressures in teaching come from.

Passion for the job

Fears for the future of the job

Having confidence in some aspects of the job

Emergent Themes for Participant 3: Chloe

Chloe was a head of department in a secondary school and had just over 20 years' teaching experience. She clearly felt a passion for her subject and for the pupils in her care. It struck me that she was so worried about being perceived negatively by her superiors, yet clearly made a valuable contribution to the school in terms of its reputation for quality extra-curricular activities.

Teaching as a vocation	The impact of work on home life
Fear of being seen as a failure by senior managers	Personal investment in the job emotionally
Frustration at fault-finding, blame culture	The physical impact of emotional labour
Powerlessness in influencing decisions	Fear of being perceived as unreasonable
Feeling that the management cannot see the bigger picture	The difficulty of disagreeing with management decisions
The importance of the subject for the pupils	Fear of the consequences of not colluding
Feeling undervalued by superiors	Not allowed to be an individual
The lack of consultation	Feeling of being an outsider
Not being trusted enough	Expectation to be robot-like
Not given a voice	Being treated like a child not an adult
Overwhelmed by workload	The expectation to collude
Being viewed as inadequate	Feeling unable to be honest
No room for her professional judgement	Not being viewed as an expert in her subject
Anger that the subject is not taken seriously by senior managers	Effect on self-esteem – low self-worth
Lack of support	Teacher training as inadequate for the emotional demands of the job
Being answerable for other people's decisions	Needing support without being judged
Unfairness of expectations from management	Sense of isolation
Being undermined	Long-term solutions not offered
Not feeling listened to	Lack of consideration for the human side of teaching
Feeling defeated	Unrealistic expectations
The positive effect of suppressing authentic emotion with pupils	Satisfaction in being 'real'
The negative effect of suppressing emotion with management	Having to treat teaching as a mechanical activity
Being unable to be authentic with management	The pressure of Ofsted

The support of colleagues is not enough

Ofsted as perpetuating the blame culture

Frustration that solutions to problems not caused
by her have to be found

Feeling helpless

Emergent Themes for Participant 4: Di

Di was a head of department in a secondary school and had just over 10 years' teaching experience. She started her career in industry and so was a relatively late entrant to the teaching profession. What I noticed most about her was her absolute passion for being in the classroom and working with young people.

The importance of the job of teaching	Appearance and reality not matching
Teaching as vocational	Having to collude in the appearance that all is well
Feeling underrated by society	An increasing lack of trust in colleagues
Being constantly criticised	Lack of autonomy in lesson content
The focus on continuous improvement	Being unable to challenge senior managers
Not having a voice	Feeling silenced
Feeling unheard by managers	The inspection process as threatening
Frustration that the 'real' job of teaching is not given attention	Receiving mixed messages from managers and Ofsted
The impact on home life	Excessive workload
No room for a work-life balance	Time management issues
Fear of being made to look incompetent	Senior managers' lack of trust in her
The climate of fear in schools	Being unable to prioritise the most important tasks
The emotional labour of being a middle manager	Gradual erosion of self-worth - abuse
The importance of caring in teaching	Her integrity being questioned
Anger at having to prove her commitment	A feeling of constantly giving but receiving no recognition
The importance of passion in teaching	Being pushed to breaking point
Feeling that the pressure is constantly increasing	Fear of losing job
The excessive focus on exam results	The job as survival
The importance of emotion in teaching	Hiding behind the façade of being strong
Having to collude in decision-making	Fear of the consequences of speaking out
Being treated like a pupil	Feeling unsupported
The importance of being 'real' with pupils	Constantly questioning herself – possibility of self-blame
Frustration at the priorities of senior managers	Being discouraged from being emotional
The negative impact of suppressing emotion	'Nineteen Eighty-Four' – totalitarianism of teaching
Feeling in a no-win situation	Her ability to see the bigger picture

The worry of not being seen as good enough

The pressure of Ofsted

The lack of value put on experience

Being unable to be an individual – be a robot

Fear of being judged as negative

Use of coping strategies – become like a robot!

The damage of suppressing emotion

Emergent Themes for Participant 5: Ellie

Aged 30-40 Ellie was a science teacher with under 10 years' experience in teaching. She had previously worked in industry and was a successful manager with a large company. However, she left because she felt that teaching would be a more worthwhile profession and she intended to stay as a mainscale teacher. Her experience of teaching was a profoundly emotional one and it was interesting to me that her knowledge of what she called 'hard science' helped her coped with this.

The importance of teaching	Not being allowed to express an opinion on certain issues
Passion for the subject	Frustration that decisions do not improve productivity
The importance of data as not making sense	Having to collude
Having to make decisions based on something arbitrary	Having a personal investment in the pupils
Teaching as an emotional rollercoaster	Anger at the adverse effect of decisions on pupils' lives
The stress of dealing with challenging pupils	The politicisation of education
The positive outcomes of suppressing authentic emotion	Feeling responsible for the decisions of others
The lack of value put on experience by policy-makers	Feeling a failure
The importance of experience on classroom effectiveness	Being prevented from doing the best job possible
The value of classroom experience for teachers	Excessive workload
Teachers as learners	Erosion of autonomy
Teaching as being about more than imparting knowledge	Increased sense of isolation
The unnecessary focus on target grades	The expectation and judgement of society
Not having a voice	Having to devise coping mechanisms
The importance of emotion in teaching	The lack of support in school
Being unafraid of managers – nothing to lose in terms of promotion	How workplace support could increase productivity
The consequences of disagreeing with senior managers	Being criticised - effect on sense of self-worth
The pressure of having to perform well all the time	No allowance made for teachers' learning
The importance of being seen as outstanding	Being treated like a child
The pressure from Ofsted	The universal collusion
Having to collude with criteria she disagrees with	

The weight of expectation

Anger at the unfairness of judgements

Feeling powerless

Her ability to see the bigger picture

Appendix 9a
Example of colour-coding of emerging themes across participants

Alison	Becky	Chloe	Di	Ellie
Separation between real self and classroom self.	Teaching is acting a part	Teaching as a vocation	Teaching as an important job.	Love of the subject is important to her.
Enforced collusion with this.	It is a pressurised and demanding job	Fear of being seen as a failure	Vocational nature of teaching	Passion for her subject is important in teaching.
Encouraged to be robot-like	Suppresses emotion – authenticity not allowed	Frustration at blame culture	Importance of caring.	It does not make sense that people can be valued on data.
No flaws allowed	The school dictates how she acts	Powerless – no voice in decision making	Feeling underrated by society.	Frustration at the arbitrariness of decision-making.
Impacting on home life	Being in a classroom is about survival	She feels undervalued and used.	Being constantly criticised – feeling undermined.	Teaching as an emotional rollercoaster.
Not enough time.	The difficulty of being in a classroom with challenging pupils	Lack of consultation by management.	The focus on continuous improvement.	Stress of dealing with challenging pupils.
Being treated like a naughty child	Expectation to be a good role model	Not being trusted.	The focus on improvement is misplaced.	Suppressing emotion can have a positive outcome.
School as different from a normal environment	Consequences of not behaving in a particular way	Appreciates the students' skill and wants their efforts to be valued.	Not having a voice.	Lack of value of experience by policy makers.
'You're not allowed...'	How she is perceived by others	Her anger is on their behalf	Frustration at having to focus on the wrong things.	Importance of classroom experience.
Consequences of not adhering to the persona	Takes its toll on her physical health	She is ignored	Climate of fear	Caring in teaching.

Minor things have to be taken seriously	Emotional labour has a physical impact	Control is not given.	She is ignored by managers.	She is prepared to suppress her anger for the greater good.
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Appendix 9b

Example of colour-coding of common themes

Sub-theme 1a: The removal of individuality

Alison	Becky	Chloe	Di	Ellie
Encouraged to be like a robot	You need to be seen as insensitive, unaffected by the emotional demands	Not being treated as an individual	No room for individuality.	She is powerless in the face of such a huge political machine.
Unable to be an individual	Conform to a robot-like persona	Expectation that she will be unemotional, like a machine.	Coping strategies, such as trying to treat it as though she is a robot.	The weight of expectation. No room for individuality
No flaws allowed		Not to be a robot with pupils is important		

Appendix 10

Textual Evidence for Themes and Key Text Selection Process

Theme	All Text	Key Text
<p>Ellie:</p> <p>The focus on outcome measures</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - targets - continuous improvement - the standards agenda - emphasis on data - Ofsted criteria - Ofsted terminology - Forced collusion with unreality 	<p>But not only that you know, the science erm, which you might think collecting data about people. That is still very emotional. They've got you know 43% on that exam and they should have got 68%. I don't know if they were having a bad day you know. I don't know what's going through their mind, yet we're making a decision on this 43% as opposed to 68%, so all that is quite emotional.</p> <p>And I hate the way that the government is now saying that you've got performance-related pay and that teachers who have been there a while are not worth those that are coming in because it's rubbish.</p> <p>And that I think is a shame, that we're so hung up on measuring you know, and the measurables and the figures, the facts and figures, that sometimes I think we forget about the human experience.</p> <p>You have to be on show all the time if you want to give your absolute best. Now, that's not possible. It's not possible for you to be like that all the time, it's just not possible.</p> <p>But your emotions are in the way, they're getting in the way of giving that outstanding lesson or that good lesson, because you just don't have the mental</p>	<p>Collecting data about people. That is still very emotional.</p> <p>We're making a decision on this 43% as opposed to 68%, so all that is quite emotional.</p> <p>I hate the way that the government is now saying that you've got performance-related pay. We're so hung up on measuring you know, and the measurables and the figures, the facts and figures, that sometimes I think we forget about the human experience.</p> <p>You have to be on show all the time if you want to give your absolute best. But your emotions are in the way, they're getting in the way of giving that outstanding lesson or that good lesson.</p> <p>Everything's bloody Ofsted.</p> <p>It's the way schools respond to Ofsted.</p> <p>I really object when they come in to observe me, grade me against criteria I don't believe in.</p> <p>I have no respect for the Ofsted criteria because I do not believe it assesses anybody, except provides data en masse to say whatever a politician wants it to say. So I have no respect for the Ofsted criteria.</p> <p>I really object to kids having target grades based on a system that has a...a, erm...error value of plus or minus 1, and based on</p>

	<p>space to do it.</p> <p>But there's also, honestly, until Ofsted came, everything's bloody Ofsted.</p> <p>And it's not Ofsted themselves, it's the way schools respond to Ofsted. I really object when they come in to observe me, grade me against criteria I don't believe in. [ok] I really...I hate that [yeah] and that Ofsted criteria I don't believe in. [Mm] I have no respect for the Ofsted criteria because I do not believe it assesses anybody, except provides data en masse to say whatever a politician wants it to say. So I have no respect for the Ofsted criteria. You know, they've got outstanding, good, requires improvement, inadequate. I'm sorry but you can have a satisfactory lesson. We are generally satisfactory. How in this world did we ever get rid of satisfactory just being normal? Outstanding should be exceptional. Requires improvement and inadequate should be exceptional. Most people should be satisfactory. Everything's now got to be 5 out of 5 [yeah], 10 out of 10, outstanding. But the world isn't like that. So why are we making people feel like failures if they don't get you know, their target grade? Or outstanding. That's another emotional response I have. I really object to kids having target grades based on a system</p>	<p>exams they do in one week at the end of year 6.</p> <p>And I really think that at the age of 16 you should not be doing...sending kids away where their whole school life has been below target.</p> <p>I find that I end up compartmentalising children into sort of, 3 different groups.</p>
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	<p>that has a...a, erm...error value of plus or minus 1, and based on exams they do in one week at the end of year 6. And at the end of year 10 I have to grade them, and each time they might be here [<i>indicates low</i>] and their target grade's here [<i>indicates high</i>] and each time I have to put below target, inadequate...below target. Because below target is inadequate isn't it? That's the message it would send to me, below target is inadequate. But they're not, because they've worked bloody hard, they've handed every piece of homework in, they are, you know...put their hand up when they're supposed to, they've done really well for them in a test. Why can't I just put, they're doing really...They're reaching their potential? Why can my professional judgement not say that?</p> <p>Yeah, because that's how they've skewed it, and that's what it's made for. But if you take each individual child, you have the ones that are never going to reach their target, and the ones that are way above target, and I truly believe – the emotional response – you've got these with low targets are going to be above it, these with high targets are going to be below it. They're going to come out of school more emotionally stunted than these guys [right] because these guys have always been told, 'Oh</p>	
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	<p>you're working above target, fantastic! Well done! [Mm] And you're working below target. Why? Let's come up with some targets that, areas for improvement because you're working below target.' And I really think that at the age of 16 you should not be doing...sending kids away where their whole school life has been below target. Yes. I find that I...I care very much about each of them, very much so. But I do find the number means that I can't put in...I know what I'm told to do. They're right. You know, we have to put individual targets in, and what they're saying is correct. Individual targets can help – every child matters, there's nothing wrong with that. I believe in that. But I find that I end up compartmentalising children into sort of, 3 different groups.</p>	
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Appendix 11
Audit of Data for Participants: Super-Ordinate Themes with Sub-Themes.

1. Super-ordinate theme: The expectation to conform	Participant	Page/Line
<i>1a. Sub-theme: the removal of individuality</i>		
"There is an expectation you know, you really are pretending to be this almost robotic type of super, moral, well-behaved, upstanding, no-flaws member of the community for all the time that you're in that role."	Alison	1/18
"I don't think in most schools there's much space for individuals or the fact that people are not automatons"	Alison	11/16
"There is that very clear-cut expectation that you don't show any great levels of emotion."	Becky	3/17
"I don't think you get the best out of the children if you are just a robot at the front of the room, and I think you have to be human to do it effectively."	Chloe	19/10
"I don't think they want diverse. I think they want robotic don't they? It's almost a bit Nineteen Eighty-Four sometimes. They're all stood in their blue boiler-suits you know, and they're all saying the same thing at the screen and that's what they want."	Di	9/13
"Trying not to care is another...I had a job when I was about twenty, pushing pizzas into slots and I try and treat it like that. You know, think 'well it's just a job. I can only do so much within that time.' But you can't do that and do the job properly."	Di	10/1
"When you put such a huge amount of importance on something, so the vocation for me, and you feel that you're being compromised as a person in order to do that properly it's very, very, very difficult."	Di	10/44
"They don't want personality, they want everything to be the same, lessons to be the same, you know...they want twenty minutes of the lesson spent one way, ten the other, whatever it is."	Di	11/46
"You know, governments and departments and schools say, 'you need to collect this data,' and you're thinking, yes but this is a person. How can you relate some types of data to a person?"	Ellie	3/32
<i>1b. Sub-theme: Fear of not conforming</i>		
"Like, in another job you might make some kind of a joke about it, whereas here you really have to be seen to be taking every little thing seriously, and if you don't mention something your head's on the block."	Alison	3/40
"You can't be seen to be a troublemaker...if you want to be a trailblazer you must have some sort of private income."	Alison	14/41

"You want to get things right as regards to pleasing your leadership team. You don't want to be seen as a failing teacher, but it's emotional for me because I want them to see that I'm not a failing teacher."	Chloe	1/20
"You want to get it right and be the good teacher and not get into trouble for not going to things. And you don't want to rear your head as being a problem."	Chloe	3/3
"There's a constant use of politics to make you feel inadequate. In spite of the fact that you have full evidence that you're not inadequate, you know you're not inadequate...and it does create a climate of fear."	Di	3/30
"One hour out of eight hundred a year he might come, so that is what he will judge me on... Why are we making people feel like failures if they don't get 'outstanding'?"	Ellie	13/7
<i>1c. Sub-theme: Not having a voice</i>		
"What you are deemed to be saying is, 'there is no value in...' or 'I personally don't agree'. You're just sticking yourself up to be shot down. I feel that unless you want to be some kind of scapegoat you have no choice."	Alison	13/40
"All that's going to happen is you're blowing yourself up, so you'd best keep yourself quiet and just get on with it."	Alison	15/13
"You're not consulted and you're not told and it sort of happens to you, not with you"	Chloe	2/23
"I tend to tell SLT [Senior Leadership Team] over certain things that I feel are a bit unjustified you know, but you tend to get a bit of a blanket response or, you know, 'this is the decision that's been made' or 'this is what we're doing' and I think, well hang on a minute, that's not very fair."	Chloe	7/6
"Nodding's better! They prefer nodding!"	Di	6/33
"When you're trying to say, 'actually, that's not going to work.' And they basically come up with feeble solutions and sort of put those to you as an absolute. Or call you negative."	Di	12/16
"I was so frustrated because our head had just completely ignored everything we'd been saying and what we'd been doing."	Ellie	23/18
2. Super-ordinate theme: Focus on outcome measures		
<i>2a. Sub-theme: Targets/improvement</i>		
"Because you can't continue to consistently improve, you know...I think targets and the constant pressure to improve, improve, improve, it's	Becky	19/17

unrealistic.”		
“Probably most intelligent people recognise that it’s a nonsense”	Becky	19/35
“That’s not what our job is and I think these things are what’s added to the stress on staff as well”	Becky	20/9
“How does that raise standards? It raises exam grades, does that mean it’s raised standards?”	Becky	20/30
“So now we have to prove four levels of progress for every child which is ridiculous, because even if they get an A* they might only have improved by three levels.”	Chloe	19/44
“Showing that type of improvement, well it’s impossible isn’t it?”	Chloe	20/20
“I do think in all the schools I’ve worked in it’s kind of misunderstood, misinterpreted and almost used as a bit of a stick for impossible continual improvement for both staff and kids.”	Di	1/29
“It’s often focused on the things that aren’t important for the children”	Di	1/41
“The reality is, neither kids nor adults improve on a straight line on a graph”	Di	2/1
“The constant criticism and the constant need to improve. That is very difficult not to take personally”	Di	2/29
“You have to see the senior managers if someone doesn’t get the results and they’re usually not there the year after, which does kind of make it feel a bit threatening.”	Di	3/41
“Unfortunately, the pressure from senior management is always results-driven”	Di	7/41
“We’re so hung up on measuring you know, and the measurables and the figures, the facts and figures, that sometimes I think we forget about the human experience.”	Ellie	8/4
“I really object to kids having target grades based on a system that has an error value of plus or minus one, and based on exams they do in one week at the end of Year 6.”	Ellie	14/2
“I really think that at the age of sixteen you should not be sending kids away where their whole life has been below target.”	Ellie	16/33
“I end up compartmentalising children.”	Ellie	17/10
<i>2b. Sub-theme: The blame culture</i>		
“You know, they don’t seem to ever take a realistic perspective on Ofsted in terms of, this is a bunch of people who don’t really know any more than you how to teach. But the importance that’s placed on it and the pressure that’s put on you to perform, to jump through hoops and to get this ‘outstanding’.”	Becky	5/5
“I think inspections have definitely set that agenda for stress”	Becky	5/20

"You've got to jump through all these hoops, and they're calling the shots, and if you don't, well...that's it."	Chloe	3/20
"We now have what they call learning walks. It's just a disguise for constant lesson observation. Their excuse is that it's 'just in case' Ofsted come in."	Chloe	20/10
"Ofsted aren't interested in what you're doing. All they do is point out your failings and don't give you any constructive feedback. I'm tired of getting the blame."	Chloe	20/30
"All this is just to say how Ofsted-standardly brilliant we are."	Di	7/43
"The reality is the SLT in schools are frightened because obviously they've got more to lose haven't they? They're going to be...Ofsted come in and 'Special Measures', it's 'off with your head', so that comes down to us in the form of, 'Ofsted want this, Ofsted want that.' The reality is Ofsted don't want that."	Di	12/29
"I have no respect for the Ofsted criteria because I do not believe it assesses anybody, except provides data en masse to say whatever a politician wants it to say. So I have no respect for the Ofsted criteria."	Ellie	13/22
<i>2c. Sub-theme: Collusion</i>		
"You know, you really are pretending, and everyone's colluding in this game."	Alison	1/17
"You have to be seen to be taking every little thing seriously, and listening with a concerned expression. That is emotionally draining I think."	Alison	3/35
"So we all collude, we all sit there and go, 'Mmm' and you don't say to everyone else do you, 'I'm not blinking doing that.' You just keep your mouth shut and don't do it."	Alison	14/3
"But that's kind of how you feel, that you've got to jump on that bandwagon and play that game."	Becky	19/2
"We all nod our heads and say, 'yes, that's what we're doing.' And yet I know that probably most people recognise it's a nonsense, that it can't happen. There are certain students who will never get a C."	Becky	19/33
"But management you know, you would never admit to them that this is a nonsense."	Becky	20/15
3. Super-ordinate theme: The impact in the classroom		
<i>3a. Sub-theme: Authentic emotion vs. inauthentic emotion.</i>		
"I have an expectation of myself also to behave in a particular way. It would be inappropriate not to adopt the persona because it can be misconstrued."	Alison	4/36

"I don't think it's always appropriate for us to express our authentic feelings...I think you make better decisions when you're able to be objective."	Alison	6/4
"I think you can acknowledge that at least with the kids, which I think does make for a better relationship. I don't really draw the line completely, but you're able to say, 'I've got to say this so I am saying it.'"	Alison	16/35
"It can take it out of you...You have to play a role don't you? So you have to do pretend angry, and often if you are genuinely angry you can't show that you're genuinely angry, so you are suppressing that, I suppose, to some degree."	Becky	1/20
"You've got to get them to respect you, and that isn't by being their friend...It is by setting them an example, but also it's by having a sense of humour, letting them think you like them even if you don't like them...reinforcing their positives and sort of try and play on that side rather than the negatives of their personality."	Becky	11/7
"I think that's kind of part of our job, particularly the more challenging kids who come from challenging backgrounds with, you know, don't feel loved and don't feel wanted in lots of situations, so if we can give them a little bit of security, stability and a feeling of being appreciated, then they'll value that. You know, they won't always be great but you can usually win them over a bit with that if you've got their respect."	Becky	11/30
"I do really value what I do and I do love my job you know...I do accept that I'm privileged to work with young people and I do enjoy doing it."	Becky	18/26
"Your musicians are there all the time so they see the department and how it runs and what happens to it day to day. If something has happened I share it with the children if it's going to directly affect them...But I am quite lucky in that I do have students that share my concerns about Music as well."	Chloe	5/3
"...you have that flash of anger and you know, you're angry in front of the kids, I can see then to suppress that is a positive thing, because they don't want to see that someone's just come in and made you crotchety when we were having a good lesson."	Chloe	8/6
"I think the children who come to my lessons respond to it. And they respond to me and my emotions and I think it works. So in the classroom I don't feel that I've got to be a certain stereotype, I haven't at all."	Chloe	18/31
"It's not possible to teach without passion, to teach well without passion, and you can't have the passion without the emotion, so you're creating...If	Di	5/43

you start to interfere with that you're on a no-win aren't you?"		
"I refuse point-blank to be anybody other than who I am with the children and that's that. I'm not going to change and I think that's the key to my survival at the moment."	Di	6/41
"You might pick up a child who's in a terrible state. However, although that's massively demanding emotionally to deal with, you can deal with those things because they're real."	Di	7/21
"So as far as the learning is concerned, I'm not saying you get a better learning experience, but you just get a better human experience."	Ellie	7/25
"First of all you have to suppress your annoyance and do what you know is right rather than what you'll want to do, and then it just becomes habit...After a while you deal with things in a different way...instead of me getting annoyed and coming away from the lesson feeling angry, it meant that I felt much calmer."	Ellie	7/32
<i>3b. Sub-theme: Workload issues.</i>		
"You cannot monitor everything. You've got an hour to teach one thing and you're supposed to be checking whether everyone's got everything, whether this person's turned up, whether you've filled in...whatever equipment they've got..."	Alison	12/9
"But you're also juggling lots and lots of other things in terms of assessments and things that you've got to do in preparation, your marking and all of that kind of thing, so you're always during your teaching day under pressure."	Becky	1/8
"The big thing for me is my subject area which at times is sort of, brushed under the carpet, but then, when they want the shop window it's, you know, 'do this, this and this'."	Chloe	1/38
"It's so ironic because it impacts on the time you get to spend actually preparing lessons in terms of making resources."	Di	13/41
"I find that I end up writing three different reports because it's the only way you can get through the amount of stuff you've got to do."	Ellie	17/9
"I worked out that if I did that for every book it would add three hours a year onto my marking time. Now to them that's just three seconds a book, but you've got to cost time out. You can't keep adding up because time doesn't expand."	Ellie	17/19
<i>3c. Sub-theme: 'Them and us'</i>		
"You're not allowed to say things like that!"	Alison	2/41
"The first thing the Head of Department says is, 'where's your book?'"	Alison	2/11

"You're not allowed to shout, that's not very good for the whole school and you're also not allowed to use sarcasm."	Becky	1/41
"You want to do it right and be the good teacher and not get into trouble for not going to things."	Chloe	3/2
"So you've got to say when you're going to do your marking, and your mark book's got to correspond...you've got to do it in the same colour pens so you can't cheat."	Di	14/11
"So we make compromises and some of those compromises are you get told off if you don't put the date."	Ellie	17/46